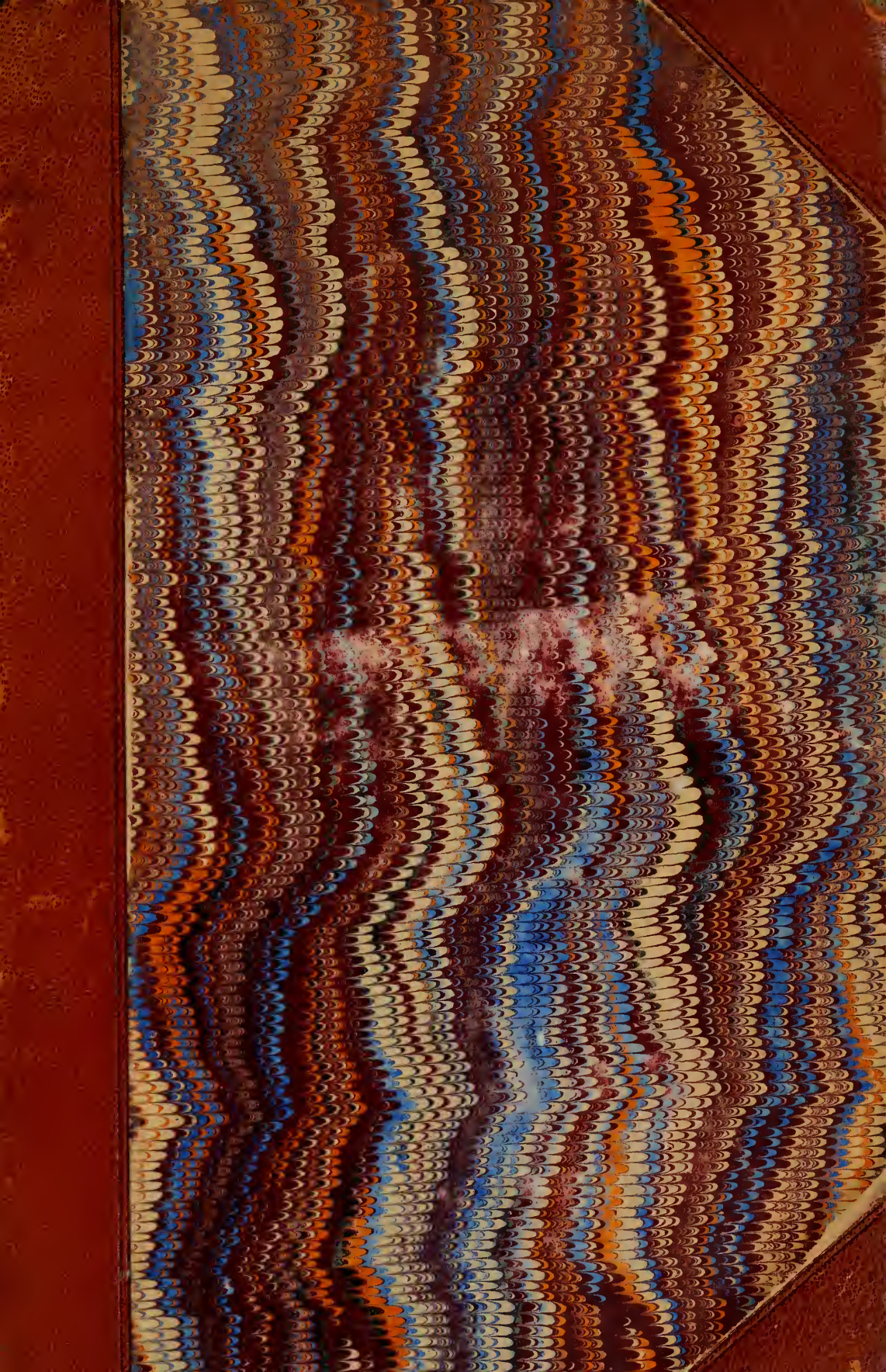




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From the Author

27 Sept 1888



35
CASTLE CHURCH,

WITH SOME ACCOUNT

OF ITS

PARISH AND MANOR AND OF ITS
ESCHEAT

TEMPORE HENRY VIII.

$$\begin{array}{r} 14179 \\ \hline 29 \overline{) 1791} \end{array}$$

6

ADDENDA VEL CORRIGENDA.

- Page 2, about the middle, *after* "Charters of many sovereigns," *insert* "tribal descent perhaps by the use of Borough English."
- Page 2, paragraph 2, line 4. Since this was written Mr. Calvert has published a short account of the Borough.
- Page 3, line 2, *for* "Staffordshire," *read* "Stafford Town."
- Page 9, at end of second paragraph, *after* [X] *add* [G].
- Page 10, about middle of page, *for* "distinct and," *read* "distant or."
- Page 10, line 8 from bottom, *add as note* to Fish Pools, as follows:—"The printed Wardrobe Roll of E. I. speaks not only of the King's, but of the Queen's Vivary at Stafford; not only of the King's Fisherman there, but of the Queen's."
- Page 11, line 2, *add as note*, "This word 'castle' is used in the sense of Castlewick in the Inq. p. m. upon the death of Earl Hugh, where it is said 'In which *Castle* the Earl had held two carucates of demesne land.' See Campbell's 'Stafford Peerage,' p. 64, line 8. 'Castle' indeed had been used for Castlewick previously, for a plea roll of 21 E. I. says that Nicholas Baron of Stafford held the 'Castle' of Stafford with the liberty of Bradeley *in capite* of the King ('Staffordshire Collections,' Vol. VI., pp. 258-9). It may be just hinted that the old intrenchment at Billington may have led to the whole district eastward of the Peak being styled Castre or Castelry."
- Page 11, at the end of third paragraph, *add as note*, "See 'Staffordshire Collections,' Vol. IV., p. 290 n."
- Page 11, line 7 from bottom, *omit* [L].
- Page 12, line 8, *for* "Tillington Pond," *read* "Tillington Ford."
- Page 14, line 6 from bottom, *for* the paragraph beginning "The Names," *insert* all the places in the map opposite except Stafford, Copenhall, Dunston, Acton Trussell and Penkridge, formed the Domesday Manor of Bradeley; and all the places in the map above Copenhall and below Stafford form now the Manor and Parish of the Castle.
- Page 20, at the end of the fourth paragraph, *for* "sixth year of Edward III.," *read* "first year." *Confer.* the Subsidy at large, "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. VII., Part I., p. 195.
- Page 23, 6 lines from bottom, *set* a "comma" after "Clerk."
- Page 24, paragraph 3, *for* "6 E. I. 111," *read* "1 E. III. 111."
- Page 27, line 13 from bottom, *for* "Branselle," *read* "Branselle."
- Page 30, line 12 and elsewhere, *for* "Teste de Nevil," *read* "Testa de Nevil."
- Page 31, at end of first paragraph, within the brackets *insert* [Y].

Page 31, line 12, *omit* brackets.

Page 35, paragraph 2. For the early branches of the Bagots and their connexion, *see* General Wrottesley's remarks in his Commentary upon the *Liber Niger*, "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. I., pp. 167, 169, 170.

Page 39, line 9, *for* "*m. 33*," *read* "No. 33."

Page 39, line 12, *for* "168," *read* "No. 168."

Page 39, line 8 from bottom, *for* "32," *read* "No. 32."

Page 40, line 5 from bottom, *for* "*m. 5*," *read* "No. V."

Page 48, paragraph 3, line 4. Walter Chetwynd (*see* his "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. III., p. 51) names Roger le Wete as the grantor of the Brocage to the Priory, *test.* Gerald fil Brien.

Page 52, line 11, *for* "Rowley," *read* "hamlet."

Page 72, line 5, *for* "the manor of the same name," *read* "Weston in Standon."

Page 79, line 17. Compare with Addenda to page 11, line 2.

Page 84, line 2, *insert* after full-stop, "The Chapel of St. Nicholas of Stafford, mentioned by Mr. Eyton ("Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. V., p. 176), must I think be understood as this old chapel on the Hill, and if so it must have been at all events older than the year involved in the mention of it, that is 1186 or possibly 1173. But in the accounts of William Bromley and Thomas Gryme, Wardens of the Church of St. Mary's of Stafford in the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., appear items for different repairs to the aisle of St. Nicholas. That aisle supposes a chapel also there of corresponding dedication.

Page 84, *add* at foot. Land called the Downes near Bradley and within its parish, was chargeable with tithes to the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas. In early times a Royal patent (20 E. I.) granted this same Free Chapel during the minority of the heir to Thomas son of Nicholas the deceased Baron. A part of the tithes, viz., those of corn and grain, of lands called the Downes, near the town of Bradeley, heretofore belonging to the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas within the Castle of Stafford, were leased by Henry Earl (? Lord) Stafford to Edward Ward of Levedale, *alias* Leadall, in the county of Stafford, Yeoman. *See* original deed, 13th December, 1694, in the parcel of Salt MSS. 73.

Page 97, *add* note to second paragraph, "Edmund Baron Stafford had been interred with the Minorites, *see* p. 100 *infra*. A century later, on the opposite side of the town, in the Choir of the Friars Augustines, under a tomb before the high altar, was buried the Earl of the same name, Edmund, slain at Shrewsbury A.D. 1403. According to Dugdale (Baronage, Vol. I., p. 164), not lands, but their plate and rich shrine had led to their destruction, and so their house became a ruin, and "therein all those fair and costly tombs of this most noble family (whereof some had been originally (?) placed therein), were miserably torn to pieces, and buried under the heap of its deplorable ruins."

Page 110, note 2. *See* the Act, section 15, which provides that the attainder shall not prejudice certain grants made by the Duke to Sir Andrew Windsor and to Anthony Windsor.

- Page 113, note 3, *add* "The Duke, when Earl, had recommended Radcliffe for promotion to the valuable Rectory of Wynwick, calling him his own Clerk." *See* the Earl's letter to the Bishop printed at large in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIII, p. 402.
- Page 115, *add* at end of note, previous to note 1, "*see* Addenda to p. 84 at foot."
- Page 126, line 14 from bottom. Edmund Earl of Stafford had before granted the pasture called the Hough to Nicholas Bradshaw for life. *See* the *I. p. m.* on the Earl's death, 4 Hen. IV., No. 41.
- Page 132. This word Wingerun is perhaps a contraction from Wicingorun, and alludes to money current amongst the Danes, &c. *See* Duchesne *in verba*.
- Page 144-6, as note to this proof of age *add* as follows : "Subsequently on an Inquest of the 16th E. III., No. 38, Edmund's son Ralph, afterwards first Earl Stafford, it was found that the latter was born in Avynton (? Aminton) near Tamworth, and was baptized in the Church of St. Edith of this Town of Tamworth."
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THE MANOR AND PARISH OF "CASTRE" (CASTLE).

IN times remote the county town, before history recorded the name which now designates it, was peopled by at first probably a sparse body of Anglo-Saxon settlers, coming thither, it has been suggested, from the Eastern coast. [K.] It assumed the form usual with village communities. This is an inference from institutions of which the more important and distinctive features long survived in their integrity, *i.e.*, in allotments, common fields, and common pasture, and which are at the present day far from obliterated.

In the course of a few centuries the primitive settlement took another form, the fence (*zaun*, or *tune*) which encircled it, good against cattle, was no defence against human foes; so now it was surrounded by solid palisades and perhaps by rude walls, giving to the space enclosed the character of a "burh." This was the work of Æthelfleda, Alfred's warlike daughter, or of his son Edward the Elder, but it was more probably the result of a concerted policy between them. The change was made owing to the stress of events and the, now menacing, proximity of their old formidable enemies the Danes, who had long previously obtained a solid footing in districts on the northern and eastern sides of the island, and had had that footing countenanced and confirmed by the Peace of Guthrum through the good feeling or deliberate policy of the illustrious Alfred.

It is evident that much is now solid drained land which was then water or unstable marsh, and consequently an additional obstacle to hostile onset or surprise. Indeed, the legend of the Saint Bertelin, if we may refer to it, speaks of an island, and the fact of one seems preserved in the name of the corner of the town, called by a word of Saxon origin not only denoting isle, but characterizing this one as of not small dimensions, *i.e.*, as broad isle (*Brodeye*). The terminal syllable of a supposed more ancient name, Bethnei (Latin form, *Bethania*), may preserve a record of a similar topographical fact. [L.]

The "burh" and district just mentioned lie entirely on the left or northern bank of the Sow, but the opposite stretch of land on the

south side of that river had formed an important manor of the Saxon Earls of Mercia, and was called Bradeley. It is now represented in part by the land which comprises the Parish of Bradeley. It included, however, in early times something more, viz., various members, and one especially our present subject, afterwards itself a distinct manor, termed the Manor of Castre, or the Manor of Stafford. Thus the area of a village community, the "burh" or borough, and the manor just mentioned (which last fell to a Norman Baron on the escheat of the last Saxon Earl), all lay together, so to say, within an area of 12,000 acres more or less, with a river nearly intersecting them. Now the borough had even with the Saxons been the King's borough, as the manor had been the Earl's manor. The result was a combination, not only interesting, but rare, as within narrow limits representing the three essential elements of the mixed form of government under which England has so long lived. Popular rights and liberties and progress represented by the institutions of common fields and common pastures and allotments, afterwards also by franchises, confirmed by the charters of many Sovereigns; the King's rights, evidenced by a Royal burgh, a Royal castle (afterwards King's Gaol), also by a King's chapel and a King's pool, while the Baronial rights came to be made prominent by a Baron's castle or by a demesne manor, "which, or one of them, was the caput of his Barony." [B.]

A subject so suggestive concerns in its entirety municipal as well as general history. The borough of Stafford awaits its Historian, but it is in vain to treat the history of the Manor of Stafford as entirely distinct. More especially is it impossible to have a clear notion of the early associations of the Baronial fief, without having in mind simultaneously the particulars of the royal rights existing in its vicinity.

The subject is not easy, and has been rendered less so by the confusion of names, of things, and persons, by the questionable pretensions of Barons it may be, and perhaps by the vacillating purposes of Kings, and especially by the inconsistent and hasty allegations of topographical writers. [A.] The difficulty may serve to excuse these introductory remarks, as well as my making the King's Castle of Stafford the first matter for consideration.

To prevent or lessen confusion, the whole subject has been divided under the following heads:—1. The King's Castle in Stafford; 2. The Manor of Stafford; 3. The Feudal Barons of the

first race; 4. The neighbouring contemporary Barons; 5. The Baronial Castle near Stafford Town and its free Chapel; 6. The Parish and its Church; 7. The Manorial Chapels and Hospitals; 8. The Stafford Escheat *tempore* Henry VIII.; 9. Sundry matters touching all the above. Lastly, an Appendix of documentary and historical evidence.

THE KING'S CASTLE AT STAFFORD.

Domesday Book mentions forty-nine Norman castles. Eight had the Conqueror for founder; one of these, at its nate, was in ruins at Stafford. Robert de Ferrers held one or two others, giving thus two, or at most three Norman castles to Staffordshire, *i.e.*, at Stafford, and perhaps at Tutbury and Burton. No others of the tenants *in capite* held such fortresses in the county, and Ferrers it may be added was in favour, and useful as one of the commissioners for the execution of the important task of the census. Robert de Stafford's great possessions in the county would no doubt have led him to think of exercising the then undoubted right to build a castle possessed by all Norman Barons the extent of whose possessions fulfilled the conditions. [D.]

It may be added that although there is no proof of his having absolutely at first exercised that right, his abstention is not inexplicable, so long as his sovereign's castle was maintained on the footing of war so near to his most eligible site, and this whether or not he himself was its governor for the King as thought by Dugdale. But if for any reason the King's Castle ceased to be regarded as of strategic importance, and its use as a fortress was in effect abandoned, the case would be altered, and it is hardly to be supposed that Robert or his early successors would content themselves with a simple manor house when so many of the class to which they belonged, and notably their cousins at Clifford Castle, Flamstead Castle, and perhaps Belvoir Castle had already fortified themselves in some of the castles that helped to swell the imposing total of 1,100 such structures throughout England mentioned as having sprung up during the reign of King Stephen. Many of these, and perhaps that on the hill near Stafford, according to Lord Lyttleton's suggestion, may really not have been more than stockaded and timbered forts. [D.]

Lingard tells us that in each populous burgh in England a

strong fortress had been erected; in case of insurrection it was an asylum to the Normans, its walls confined the principal natives of the district as hostages for the obedience of their countrymen. The learned writer enumerates as castles upon which the Conqueror relied those of Pevensey, Hastings, London, Dover, Winchester, Arundel, Exeter, Warwick, Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Huntingdon and Cambridge, Chester and Stafford. No doubt these were not all, but the above remained for the most part Royal castles, and became, with others along the sea coast, and on the Welsh and Scottish border, the backbone of the defence of England. How long they continued so, how in course of time some, unnecessary against national foes, fell to decay, and others at an early date were found unnecessary for other military purposes, and degenerated to mere prisons, appears partly in chronicles, partly in the Pipe Rolls and other records. The Pipe Rolls of the time of H. II. speak on more than one occasion of a castle at Bedford, but in the next reign only the gaol is named; and so Cambridge Castle and Chester Castle have been popularly spoken of as gaols or castles indifferently. At Reading, the Lysons tell us, that the old county gaol, which stood in Castle Street, seemed to have occupied the site of the castle which, it is probable, was first appropriated to the reception of prisoners about the year 1314. So by King's mandate the Sheriff was to have the King's Gaol of Stafford thoroughly repaired, the costs out of the issues of the county to be allowed to him at the Exchequer. See Liberate Roll, 56 H. III. (1271-2). But this place of imprisonment would seem to figure with the name of higher dignity in an Assize Roll of the same year, which tells us that Will le Fevre and Robert Suffin were taken for fishing furtively, and other misdemeanours, and imprisoned in the Castle of Stafford; and that it may not be supposed that this was the castle to the south of the Sow, it may be remarked that the mainprizers come none from that side of the river, but for the most part from Foregate and Tillington, etc., the nearest side to the presumed site of the King's Castle. [E.]

Royal castles and Baronial castles had some incidents so different, that it seems strange that even their sites should ever be confounded; such, however, has been the case with those in and at Stafford, yet they were more than a mile apart.

As to the Royal castle there, I think it stood, as castles in Royal towns usually did, at a corner of the town on the more elevated

ground, near the river and two important outlets, probably in some measure upon land on which Saxon defences had stood so early as the time of Edward the Elder. Near it long stood at its north-easterly extremity the great Pool, like the castle, the King's, but held by a tenant *in Capite*.

The three "burhs" which the Saxon Chronicle tells us were built (*getymbered*) by Ethelfleda, King Edward's sister, at Stafford, Tamworth and Brugge (Bridgenorth), were, it seems, all run up in a single short summer. The three gave place, after the advent of William I., to Norman castles; one was founded at Stafford by this King, another at Brugge by Robert de Belesme. They were not both, if either was, upon their old sites. This we know at least as to Bridgenorth Castle. After his insurrection Robert de Belesme intrusted the defence of that his castle to Roger son of Corbet, Robert de Neuville, and Ulger the Hunter, with a body of eighty stipendiary men-at-arms. On the death of William Rufus the attitude assumed by this insurgent noble, who had succeeded to the earldom (Palatinate it has been termed) of his brother Hugh (both were sons of Roger de Montgomery), enhanced the strategic importance of the Royal castles nearest to him on the east. That at Stafford, originally founded by the Conqueror, was mentioned in 1086 in Domesday Book as destroyed. It had, however, been rebuilt, as before said, at some intervening time between that date and Belesme's rebellion, for we are told that in 1002 the Castle of Stafford was on Henry I.'s behalf garrisoned by a knight of great experience, formerly a liegeman of Belesme's, by whom he had been recently shaken off. Belesme's bad and wretched mother had been murdered, and William Pantulf had been charged with complicity; he had, however, purged himself by the ordeal of fire. To this knight, Belesme's enemy, Henry had afterwards entrusted the command of Stafford Castle and its garrison of two hundred men.

It is impossible to affirm, but may be useful to suggest, that the anomalous position in which the first Robert de Stafford and his successors appear to stand as seemingly titular lords of a town not under their control, may have arisen out of some royal promise, broken for conduct, intentional or not, unsatisfactory to the then Sovereign, perhaps some alliance with one or more of the feudal parties which had favoured the claims of the eldest son of the Conqueror, or hesitation between the two royal claimants

to the Crown. We remark that the head of this house, Ralph de Conches, or de Tonei, joined the party of Robert Duke of Normandy, under the conduct of the Bishop of Bayeux. Or it may be (if Dugdale's inference is correct that the first Robert took his surname from having acted as the governor of the King's first Castle of Stafford); that its destruction recorded in Domesday had been attributed to his imprudence or incapacity. If he had been imprudent, or had suffered himself to be surprised, or had only proved unfortunate, the policy of so capable a monarch as Henry I. might reasonably still prefer to entrust a fortress, more important by position at that time than it perhaps ever was afterwards, to the tried and greater experience of William Pantulf, doubly interested in the royal castle, because he had a cause of his own, that of a mortal enmity to his former lord and probable assailant; added to which was a hope through Henry of recovering his estates, which Belesme had confiscated. Besides, Pantulf was more dependant upon the King's favour, and not in other respects so likely to excite distrust as a member of the house of Tonei, which allied to the Duke of Normandy by blood, had originally opposed the claim of William to the Ducal Crown, and the head of whose house had at Senlac, just before battle was joined, initiated his career as an aspirant to English fiefs by absolutely slighting the order of his Sovereign at the most critical moment. [F.] But in the same degree as a preference for William Pantulf was reasonable and politic, would be the mortification of the feudal chief to find himself bearer of an empty territorial surname without the *tertius denarius*, once perhaps promised, and without the custody of the Royal Castle, which Dugdale thought Robert had at first exercised. What was he to do? He might have called himself by the name of any of his manors, Bradeley or Madeley or Norton, etc., or of any other in his fief. He might on the other hand retain the territorial designation which the Royal Domesday Commissioners had themselves accorded, with all its suggestions of future realization or enhanced position. No wonder if he preferred the latter course. His exceptional advantages still prompted and justified the higher ambition, as did the critical times in which he lived. Whilst others were struggling for crowns, Stafford might yet grasp the earldom. The event justified the aspiration, although not for two centuries and a half, when Ralph Baron Stafford received the earldom by the hand of a grateful Sovereign, his brother in arms and associate in the

Order of Knights of the Garter, Edward III. To return, the insurrection appeased, its authors humbled and stripped of their English possessions, Belesme renewed his rebellion in Normandy, where the presence of powerful friends, and the possession, the historian tells us, of numerous castles, rendered him formidable. But in the meantime the Castle of Stafford had diminished in importance, and the Pipe Roll speaks of that of Newcastle-under-Lyne, judged by Mr. Eyton as having eclipsed its southern rival. The consolidation of the power of the Earls of Chester gave greater security on the side of Wales, whereas as to Stafford Castle, those ancient records remain silent for some years; not entirely however. Like many others, notably those of Cambridge, Nottingham, and Bedford in times a little later, the castle became, it would seem, of no other use than as a place of custody for the King's prisoners, and forms no item in the Sheriff's accounts except as a "gaol," although the more dignified appellation of Stafford Castle continued in other classes of records, in which it is spoken of sometimes as gaol, sometimes as castle, sometimes as gaol or castle, down to the reign of the second Tudor. Instances will be cited of this in the Appendix; suffice it for the present that by his Patent dated at Westminster on the 11th July, in the first year of his reign, King Edward IV. appointed Richard Byngham, Richard Charkke, and William Brayne his Justices to deliver the Castle of Stafford of the prisoners in it. [E.]

Notwithstanding its decline in importance, the Royal Castle in Stafford must have once occupied considerable space. It contrasts favourably with that one of Belesme's at Bridgenorth, upon which he had so much relied, in respect of the numbers contemporaneously assigned for the respective garrisons. The King gave his castle at Stafford a garrison of two hundred men, whereas Belesme had thought eighty sufficed for Bridgenorth, but these are said to have been stipendiary men-at-arms; probably in neither case was the number of fighting men thus limited, and in both the number was supplemented by a more numerous contingent. This is affirmed in the case of Belesme's Castle by the historian Orderic's narrative, which throws light upon the facts as to the King's Castle at Stafford. Henry is said to have besieged Bridgenorth for three months with a large army, *i.e.*, 30,000 men. It fell into his power through the aroused spirit of the provinces and the timely secession of the burgesses of

Bridgenorth from the cause of their rebel lord; so that when the garrison marched out they complained bitterly of having been outwitted by the other part of the garrison and by the municipality. [F.]

The Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century show entries which relate to the gaol of Stafford, and in which the respective Sheriffs claim in their accounts with the Crown certain allowances in respect of repairs in the gaol of Stafford. [I.] There would seem to be no doubt that at that early date the King's Castle there, had as in the case of many other castles, become for most purposes a place of detention for his prisoners; this gaol, however, had not quite lost its more important designation, for in the Pipe Roll of 2 John, "Collections for a History of Staffordshire," Vol. II., page 91, the Sheriff Geoffrey fitz Peter, or Thomas de Erdinton for him, claims xxs. in one sum not only for repairing the gaol but strengthening (*ferramento*) the Castle of Stafford, words which are explained, if necessary, by a corresponding but more expanded claim entered immediately preceding as to the Castle-super-Linam (New Castle), where xxs. are claimed for the vivary of the castle of the latter place, xls. for repairing the castle itself, and xxs. for repairing its gaol. Again, in the 6th of John ("Collections," Vol. II., page 119), after a large sum, xxxviii*l.*, had been claimed for repairs of the new Castle under-Lime, the repairs of the two gaols of these castles are charged for together at the sum of lxvs., and for iron bars to the prisons in the aforesaid castles. ("Collections," *ubi supra* have "*in predicto castello*," the singular for the plural, which may be an error either of the original or transcript.)

When we consider that the King had a castle at Stafford at the beginning of the twelfth century, and know how disturbed a century it was, and know also that most of the royal castles degenerated into mere gaols, we are no longer surprised to find the latter designation sometimes superseding with respect to Stafford Castle the more important one; but yet not so universally, for gaol or castle appears to have been indifferently said of it *tempore* R. I. (See "Collections," Vol. II., page 91.) And, lest we should fancy two structures still meant here by the two appellations, we have fortunately conclusive evidence afforded us three hundred years later in the alternative expression of a patent of Henry VIII. which expressly styles the prison "Our Gaol or Castle of Stafford." (34 Pat., H. VIII.) [E.]

The franchises of *infrangtheof* and *utfrangtheof* had, however, been severally granted by Royal Charters to the King's borough of Stafford as well as to his free Chapel there, consequently each must, as well as the King's Gaol, have had its prison or place of detention. Not that the prisons within the Liberty of the Collegiate Church, or those of the borough could have had any gaol delivery according to our notion, at least not certainly subsequently to Ste. 27 E. I., st. 1, c. 3, which directed that the two Justices should deliver the county gaol "as well within Liberties as without."

The present County Gaol, which stands upon lands close to the town on its north-east, represents and replaces the King's Gaol; but its preceding site (to which it would seem to have been removed from a still older one) was near where stood the north gate of the town, and a credible opinion is that this gate was at the right extremity of a fortress, which trended thence towards the west in the direction of the windmill. This has for its site a place noted on an ancient map in the office of the Clerk of the Crown at Stafford. Its date seems to me of a time about the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and upon its face where the mill now stands are written the words, "The old castle built by Edward I. the Elder, and in memorie fortieified with reel walls." There is nothing to show when these "reel walls" were built. Erdswick in his "Survey," written about the date apparently of the map, only mentions "the walls and ruins of the walls of Stafford;" no word of any castle there on the left bank of the Sow, nor of any real or mimic castellated ruins. [X.] [G.]

But the Municipal books, to which my attention has been drawn, appear actually to prove the existence simultaneously of several prisons in the borough, and the gaol is said expressly by a Corporation order of the year 1621 to have been at the north gate of the town. Can we doubt that that north gate to which came the King's Pool was part of or near to the original gaol or castle of King Henry VIII. mentioned in his patent, and the legitimate descendant of the original Royal Castle? [G.]

Can any better or more usual or convenient site for a Royal Castle in Stafford be found than one which would place it upon the more elevated ground near a river and a gate, and close to one end of the King's Pool, and not far on the opposite side from the King's Chapel, which occupied, and still occupies, a site more in

the centre of the town? The precise site is, however, immaterial to my subject if, as may be positively said, the King's Castle was in Stafford town, and became the King's Gaol there.

When Mr. Eyton alluded to the subject of Stafford castles and churches being in "curious complication," he added, "not the less was he fain to believe would they be found eventually to harmonize and serve to illustrate one another."¹ He had rejected one theory and, apparently, had not accepted any other when his pen fell from his hand. Still, all who have duly weighed his phrases and his doubts are bound to admit that he has thrown light upon a subject by no means free from obscurity, and that any other now to succeed in this search must admit the principles which Mr. Eyton indicated, and march in the direction which he was the first to point out.

Whence then the difficulty? Partly it arises from the want, perhaps the inaccessibility, of documents and the absence of records previous to 31 Henry I., as well as from the silence of history. But the confusion of idea has mainly arisen from the confusion of terms and the employment of the same name for different things; indeed, the latter is a fruitful source of perplexity to topographers generally. Not only have distinct but adjoining counties very often similar names to indicate their towns, but the same county not seldom presents us with several identical designations of places very different. Mr. Eyton found in one county, Dorset, eighteen places called Winterbourne. Staffordshire has four Westons, three Astons, three Bradeleys, two Strettons, two Marstons, two Moretons, two Burtons, four Cotes or Cotons. And so we find that at or in the immediate vicinity of Stafford in earlier times and simultaneously there are mentioned two Churches of St. Mary, two hospitals of St. John the Baptist, two Chapels of St. Nicholas; also, perhaps, two great Vivaries or Fish-pools. There was a bourg and a faubourg of Stafford, both apparently called Burgi; a Manor of Stafford, with various members, some one or more of which was or were styled occasionally distinct manors; there were two post conquestual Castles, both called Stafford Castles, and two or three gaols of Stafford, and gaols confounded with castles. There was also a Stafford Rent independently of Stafford Manor, as can be seen by entries in the Great Cartulary, now at Blithfield. [A.]

¹ Eyton's "Staffordshire Domesday Studies," p. 135.

Besides all these sources of embarrassment, a common word, "castre," or castle, denoted both castle and castlewick, so that mention of a chapel in a "castre" has led to the erroneous notion, perhaps, that the chapel had always been in the castle itself. The word however has still a third sense, that of an ecclesiastical or parochial division, for the parish of Castle Church was first known as the Parish of Castle or "Castre."

There are then stumbling blocks in the way of the right application of passages in our ancient records and charters where any of the above expressions occur, stumbling blocks over which several esteemed writers have stumbled. [A.]

Diversity of subject with identity of Christian names has also been noticed as a disturbing source of misapprehension in the Staffordshire pronomina of Miliscent and Hervey.

Nor is the difficulty cleared up by any consistency in the early Charters of the Stafford Barons that I have seen; these countenance claims of rights repudiated by the march of events, and which must have emanated from careless impression, conscientious pretensions, or sheer ignorance. Details in the feverish period of the Norman successors of the Conqueror would, it is not unlikely, be construed to their own advantage by the feudal Seigneurs, and perhaps be denaturalized altogether by their descendants when their heiress had carried their pretensions by a marriage into an ancient family of perhaps different race.

The name Stafford must have preceded the division of England into shires, and may have been even coeval with the first Anglo-Saxon settlement on the Sow. [L.]

THE MANOR OF STAFFORD.

The *Manor of Stafford or Castre*.—Such is the alternative title used to designate this Manor in the oldest of our records which mentions it. [L.]

King Edward I.¹ in his Mandate to the Sheriff calls upon him for a return upon oath of inquisitors as to the Manor of *Stafford*, and the Sheriff in his answer deals with the domain under the alternative name of the Manor de *Castre*. [L.] Evidently it was known under two names, and that by which it was especially known on the spot was the name suggested by what had once been its

¹ Inq. p.m. 18 E. I., No. 50, A.D. 1289-90.

dominant or intended feature or distinction. *Once* ; a necessary limitation for the inquisition alluded to, the earliest of the Stafford escheats, is silent as to any castle then existent! A castle had evidently been contemplated, and, if so, had it ever been built? If so, the castle had perished, but "castre," the castlewick, remained!

The River Sow, flowing from the north-west, takes an easterly direction on winding round Stafford. For more than four miles, that is, from Tillington above Stafford to the confluence at right angles of the Penk with it below, the Sow forms the northern boundary of a district which, with some fields, also below Stafford, on the opposite northern side of the river, is now called Castle Church Parish, and is noted as containing the *caput* of the Barony of Stafford. This manor long consisted of the different townships of Castre, or Castle, Forebridge, Silkmere, Rickerscote, and Burton. These last three with another, Billington, termed villis in the Staffordshire Domesday, form therein four of the members of, formerly a much greater manor of, Bradeley.

Bradeley with its members had belonged to the Saxon Earl Edwin, and after his untimely end was treated as rebel escheat, and was granted with numerous other manors in Staffordshire and other counties by the Conqueror to his own relative, Robert the first Baron, who, under the assumed name of Stafford, was a scion of a foremost family in Normandy, de Conches or Tonei, another member of which, perhaps a brother, had taken a conspicuous part in the Battle of Senlac, and had been similarly rewarded elsewhere in England.

Whilst the contiguous villis aforesaid of Silkmere, Rickerscote, Burton, and Billington are all mentioned by names which they still bear in the great Survey, this is not the case with Castre or Castle Hill, and yet it would be absurd to suppose the site unknown or ignored by the Domesday Commission. Indeed, the sequel will show that the Hill is mentioned in their Survey by a name so apposite as to render it singular that no one has before noticed its identity with Castle Hill.

The land which afterwards formed this manor was all, except perhaps the part called the Lammascotes, lying to the north of the Sow, an estate of the Saxon Earl Edwin. It belonged, perhaps even without that exception, to the first Norman Barons. [G.]

The Saxon Earl's estate about Stafford lay along the winding of the river Sow, to the south of the town, for a length of between

four and five miles, and was mainly composed of the great Manor with its eleven members, called Bradeley.

No doubt this manor comprised the greater part of the district afterwards designated Castle Church. It contained, for instance, the townships of Silkmere, Rickerseote, and Burton, which the Great Census expressly specifies amongst the members of Bradeley. But something, and indeed the greatest thing, Bradeley, did not apparently contain *eo nomine*, and that was the site of what was to become the Caput Baronie of the De Toneis, a site which from a proud elevation, commanding extensive views, looked down at the distance of a mile upon the walled and pallisaded town on the opposite side of the Sow.

Saxon Earl and Norman successor both held Bradeley with all its members. The Saxon Earl held also not only his Comital rights in Stafford itself, but the estates constituting the "Honor" of the county, whereas his Norman successor claimed, it would appear, but certainly did not acquire, those Comital rights, except that he was grantee, as of his own fee (*de suo feudo*) of fourteen of the manors of the "Honor" of the County. Besides this, he had of the King's own donation one-half of the royal revenue from the Burgh of Stafford.

But De Tonei's estate about Stafford was in this remarkable sense larger than that of the Saxon Earl here, that he had also obtained from the Conqueror almost all the land adjacent to Stafford on the north of the Sow, such as Tillington, Hopton, Salt, and Ingestre, escheats of various thanes lost apparently by their revolt. [I.]

All the places after the lapse of eight hundred years have, with one exception, preserved the names assigned to them in Domesday Book. No doubt could Earl Edwin hear them pronounced even as present inhabitants pronounce them he would know they were speaking of his own lands close to Stafford. The excepted estate there, however, is called in Domesday Book by a name so Norman that, although Dugdale (following the Census) calls Edwin its *præ* Domesday possessor, it is impossible to suppose that it was by that name that the Saxon Earl knew it. The Manor in question is Monetvile, which cannot be supposed to be other than Montville, and to have been called so by the first Norman Lord to particularize a part of his estate, having a village in or near a hill, just as at the present day a considerable

farm not far from the Castle of Stafford on the hill is called the Hill Farm. An illustration which, to my mind, is strong to show that Monetville or Montville was in fact nothing else but the estate afterwards the caput Baronie of the Barons Stafford. My conviction is strengthened by the fact that no inquirer into the history of the eleventh century can point to a more likely place-name in the census, and that the author of the Staffordshire Domesday himself suggested that Monetville was probably near Rickerscote, to which it is the nearest possible hill unaccounted for by antiquaries. The estate was clearly not Billington, already named in Domesday Book, and no other mount in the manor exists near Stafford to justify the name of the vill near or at the Mount. [L.]

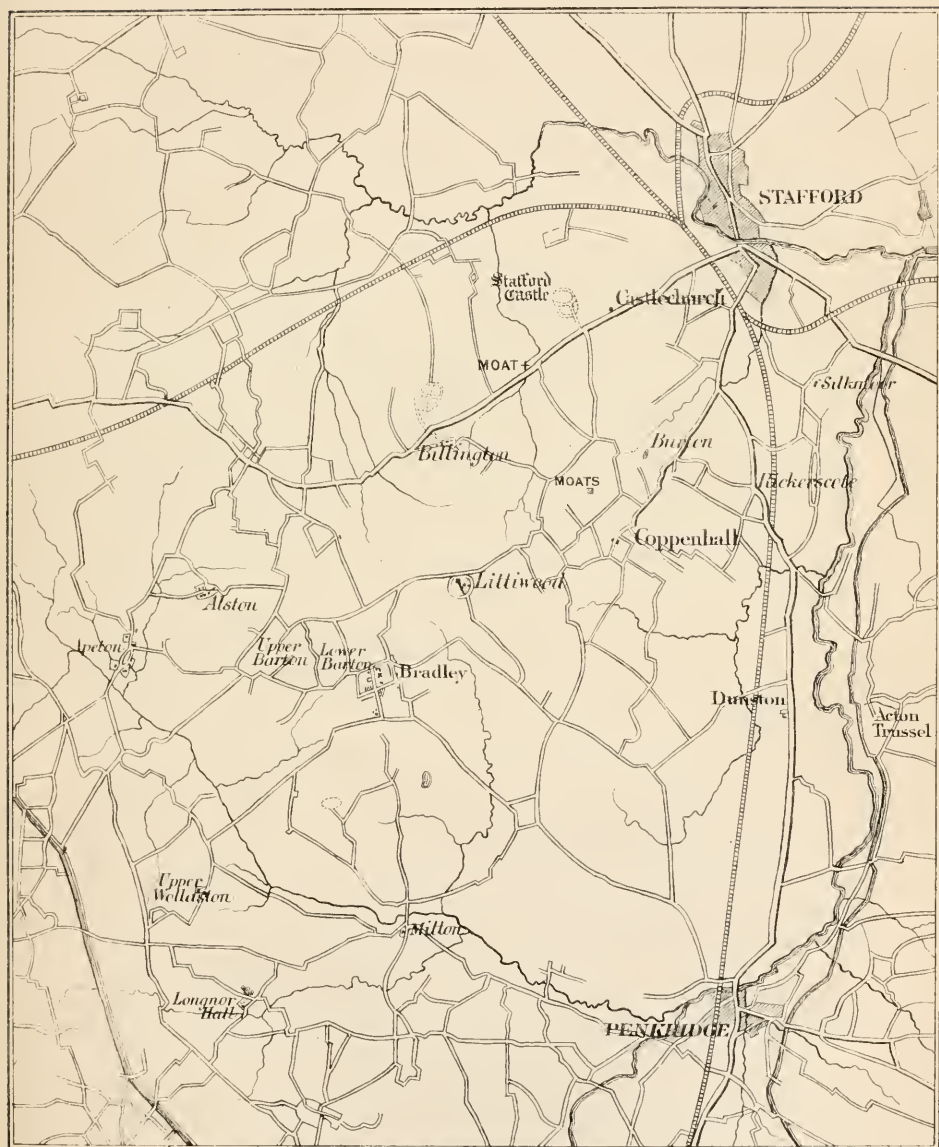
For what means the single French name amongst all the Saxon place-names? that only name that the last Saxon Earl would have failed by the pronunciation, even of the present day, to recognize as having been his? What means its position in Domesday Book at the very end of Robert de Stadford's property, if not the vill that was near a mount; Montville, whose appropriation and special use the Baron reserved to himself, being rudely spelt perhaps by the scribe, Monetville. It is also stated to have belonged to Earl Edwin, to have contained a hide, held of him, Robert de Stadford, by Walter and Ansgar, who seem Normans, with two ploughlands in demesne, with eight boors and two acres of meadow, valued together at 10s.

Indeed such a hill, with already existing rude intrenchments probably, the work probably also of an earlier race, found in the midst of a principal manor of the first Norman Lord, and near a town which he coveted, might readily when he saw them suggest to him an appropriate site for a Norman castle.

The accompanying sketch indicates the position relatively to each other of the town of Stafford, the Rivers Sow and Penk (the latter was a boundary of the Royal forest of Cannock), and the Manor of Bradeley, as it was constituted both under the Saxon Earl and of the manor of the castle, as it became under his Norman successors. The names spelt with capitals indicate the estates named in Domesday; those with the larger capitals the vills, which, according to subsequent evidences, constituted the Manor of Castre or Stafford; those with the smaller capitals, the vills that the Domesday Bradeley comprised in addition.

The landmarks of old are fast becoming obliterated here as

Scale of Miles.



elsewhere, but still their features may be sometimes found imprinted in lasting lines on the ancient records of the county. Let us turn a more particular attention to the one of greatest authority.

Sixty-eight estates, one anonymous, are rubricated in Domesday Book as the share of Robert de Statford. Neither the order of the Hundreds nor of juxtaposition is strictly followed with them, an observation necessary to be made in the present consideration of such of those estates as lie on the south of Stafford and in its vicinity. The Great Manor of Bradeley seems placed in the impossible Hundred of Totmanslow, although as the more likely Hundred of Pirehill closely follows, that may be taken as the Hundred intended for Bradeley, and this may have been the proper Hundred at that early period, although certainly soon afterwards Bradeley was, as it now is, counted in Cuddleston Hundred. The fact of this different division of the Hundred, or the copyist's misapprehension upon the subject, led apparently to a dislocation of the Manor of Bradeley, which although in fact immaterial as far as Bradeley was concerned, for the constitution of manors often presents us with similar anomalies, seems to have forced the clerk to add of one of the members of Bradeley the formula used in such case, "jacet ad Bradelië," which seems the same as another Domesday expression, "pertinet ad," belongs to; or perhaps it may mean besides, and is adjacent to Bradeley.

The description in Domesday Book of estates belonging to Robert de Statford in Stafford and its vicinity on the south of the River Sow, is as follows.

After enumerating five estates of this tenant in capite elsewhere placed, the census proceeds: Robert de Statford holds Bradeley with its appendages. Earl Edwin held it. There is land for forty-four ploughs taking all the Berewichs. In Bradeley (proper) one hide only. *There* in demesne is one carucate, also two serfs and twelve villeins, and four boors (*bordarii*), with eleven ploughs. There is a mill of 5s., twelve acres of meadow, a wood a long mile long and half a long mile broad. In Bernertone is a hide; in Abetone are two hides, and in Lutiude one; in Belinton two hides; in Burton two hides and a half; in Selchemore one hide; in Longenalre one hide; in Mutone two hides; in Aluerdeston one hide; in Vllaveston two hides. These lands belong to Bradeley. In these are forty-eight villeins and twenty-six boors, holding seventeen carucates, and one is in demesne. In Aluerdeston also is a certain

"Miles," and fifteen acres of meadow. The whole manor with its member is worth vii. pounds. In the "Burg" of Statford Robert has 70s. of the King's half. [I.]

Coppenhall seems also a little out of its place. The Domesday entry sets it between Coven and Servedesh (Shareshull), and is as follows: *i.e.*, Robert (de Statford) holds one hide in Copenhale and Bueret from him. Three "liberi homines" held it. The arable land is for four ploughs; one of them is in demesne; and there are eight villeins and six boors with three ploughs. The value (of the estate) is xii. s.

I have referred to Coppenhall not that Domesday terms it a member of Bradeley; it does not, but because its history is involved with that of Hyde Lea which adjoins it, and Hyde Lea, if not originally part of "Castre," afterwards became part. [H.]

Then the census proceeds to enumerate the estates of Robert de Statford elsewhere, but first concludes with the following two which we should have expected to see described with or next to the above account of Bradeley and its appendices. One of these has been before adverted to as connected with Bradeley by the words "jacet ad Bradelie;" it is as follows: Robert holds in Ricardescote two hides and a half, and Robert holds from him. Earl Edwin held it, and it belongs and is adjacent to Bradeley. The arable land employs four ploughs, and one is in demesne, and (there are) three villeins and three boors with one carucate. There are two acres of meadow. It is (all) worth xx. s. The other estate, rubricated as the before mentioned Monetville, immediately follows Rickerscote (*supra*) in Domesday Book. The latter has been restored by the scribe as a member to the Manor of Bradeley. No commentator has attempted to identify the former, but without hesitation I have read it as Montville, and regard it as the nearer of the two sister hills looking towards the north upon the Sow at a distance, the farther, Billington, of about two miles, and this, the latter, of about one mile from Stafford on its west. The census writes:—

Robert (de Stafford) holds in Monetville one hide, and Walter and Ansgar (hold it), from him. Earl Edwin held (it formerly). The arable land is for two ploughs. In demesne there are *there* two acres of meadow, with eight boors; the estate is worth 10s.

It appears from the above census that all this land of Robert de Stadford about Stafford to the south of the Sow had been held by

Earl Edwin, except that at Coppenhall, which had been previously in the holding of three "*liberi homines*."

In addition to the tenements belonging from the date of Domesday to the Barons Stafford within the borough and its liberty, they had assigned to them, as appears from a map in the possession of the Town Clerk [G], the greater part of the strips of land lying between the River Sow and town ditch; but it would seem that the borough nevertheless had long gained a right to that part of it which lay between the gate on the south near the bridge and the Mill of Lord Stafford. And by recent arrangements I am told all such strips have been absolutely severed from the fee.

Bradeley at the Conquest then contained this hill, and another hill at Billington, both to the eye well adapted for Norman strongholds; both were estates of Robert; the more distant of the two, Billington, by common consent of learned writers, has ever been regarded as the very probable site of a British entrenchment; its capacity would shelter a larger body of men, but with this exception, the same reason that justifies us in supposing Billington to have been a British stronghold, would apply to the other nearer hill; both are on an elevation, both surrounded by fosses. Billington, Castlehill, and Stafford, lie in a line from west to east, Castlehill being almost equidistant from the two others, at intervals, say, of a mile. One feature, however, distinguishes from each other those ancient sites, the Norman mound is absent at Billington; whereas from a very ancient date such a mound existed on the nearer hill, and is alluded to as existing in the agreement between a certain Banastre, a master mason, and Ralph Earl of Stafford at the time when this architect agreed to construct for the Earl the castle, in the reign of Edward III., the original of which agreement is still preserved amongst the Stafford MSS. once in the possession of Mr. Stebbing Shaw the historian, and this I have been permitted to see in Lord Bagot's library at Blithfield. The masons found the mound ready for their work; when had that mound been erected? That is a crucial question, perhaps not susceptible, some may think, of a satisfactory answer, otherwise a doubt would be set at rest not hitherto solved, and which leaves the historian perhaps hardly more than a choice between probabilities. [U.]

At a time later than the Conquest, the nearer hill to Stafford is found to form part of a manor, then known on the spot as the Manor of Castre, and to have been called itself Castle Hill. There is however no direct evidence extant to show that any Norman castle

had occupied its site before the one built by the said Banastre for the first Earl, A.D. 1347. [U.] Indirect evidence there is, although deficient, *i.e.*, from the name itself, from the pre-existent mole or mount, and as will be seen from a pre-existent free chapel of the Staffords' dedicated to St. Nicholas, a Saint much in vogue for such dedications amongst the Norman nobles at the close of the eleventh century. In many evidences, one as early as King Henry II., especially in those of the Priories of Stone and Kenilworth, this free chapel is spoken of, as will be seen in the Appendix [N], as having been from the conquest "*infra castellum de Stafford.*" Another church was also in the vicinity at the time of the Conquest, which seems once to have been somewhat confounded with the chapel by a Baron Stafford, as well as by a Prior of Kenilworth. Both structures, chapel and church, are described ambiguously in different documents as "*infra Castellum*" de Stafford; but a repeated litigation left as a result that the Staffords were rightful patrons, we may presume founders of the chapel, and that the Royal Free Chapel of St. Mary, Stafford, was patron of the church. Notwithstanding these facts, accepted by many as proof of the existence of a castle contemporaneously with the chapel and the Church, it is also a fact that the earlier inquisitions on the deaths of the several feudal lords make no mention at all of a castle, until the aforesaid erection of one with royal licence and by the authority of the first of the Earls of Stafford.

Of the Church of the Castre, or Castel, it is premature to speak; it had never, that we know, served the inhabitants of the Castle, or even, although they claimed it, belonged to its Lords until Henry VI. exchanged his Royal Collegiate Chapel of Stafford with Humphry Stafford, first Duke of the race, for his patronage of the Priory of Wotton-Waven in Warwickshire, and so the Castle Church, which belonged to the Church of Stafford, passed to the Duke of Buckingham. On the contrary, the spiritual necessities of the Castle had, in the first instance, from time out of mind been provided for by a free Chapel called St. Nicholas, and described as within or beneath the Castle or Park of Stafford, whose early and even rather late existence is attested by a long sequence of indisputable deeds and monuments; the Earl's Castle, which it came afterwards to serve, was of subsequent date; whereas the Church of Castre, the Castlewick, now styled Castle Church, had belonged to the Dean of the King's Collegiate Church of St. Mary's of Stafford from the time of the Conquest, and would

appear to have derived its castellan name simply from its propinquity to the Castle or to the proposed site for the Castle within the Castlewick. [N.]

The great antiquary whose services Staffordshire was so fortunate as to secure to elucidate her fundamental archaeology, saw clearly enough when he first approached a subject so beset with difficulties, the true nature of the inquiry and the sources from which aid might be looked. He faltered in his conclusion more than once, and was only at last (time did not permit more) able confidently to affirm that the subject of Stafford Churches, Chapels, and Castles was found in singular complication, and to style the history of Stafford Castle and St. Mary's, "those two great problems."¹ And so they are, but they are also mixed up with something else, of which we know more, which is with the history of the greatness, ambition, aspirations, success, and downfall of one of the chief families of feudal times, Our object is to give a succinet account of these two classes of material, the Lords and Patrons, the Castles and Churches, knowing that they will reflect mutual light. But first, as to the difficulty in the way of decision. The voracity of time and the infirmity of human records are noticed everywhere. Ask Liverpool to affix a *ubi locorum* to her statue of St. Nicholas to which her out-going mariners adressed their prayers, or to their Castle, founded by Roger Pictavenis. Where are they? And what the *locale* of the hundreds of strongholds swept away after the Treaty of Devises?

According to Sir Henry Ellis, Domesday Book, Vol. I. p. 230, no fixity of purpose seems to have guided the landholders in Domesday Book in dealing with their manors, nor even, in some cases, with their chapels or churches. They divided their manors, they made two into one, and consolidated them, they added fresh members to them, they transferred lands from one manor to another without reference to distance between them or to difference of county. Even their *liberi homines* or *socmanni* could be removed from one manor to another, as could their Hall or Manor House.

In fact the Barons practically regarded themselves, says Sir Henry Ellis, as entitled to deal with their shares of the Conquest as the King did with his kingdom. And it required the powerful will and purpose of an Edward to put an end

¹ "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., p. 213.

to the confusion which ensued, for the consequences had been a serious interference with vital and essential principles of order.

But the consequences of such acts had not been foreseen at that early date, and no law fettered the will of the Norman at least, who might deal with his newly acquired property as he pleased. And this, it would seem, some motive had induced Robert de Stadford to do, for a member seems withdrawn from and enlarged by additions from the many membered manor of the Saxon Earl, and distinguished by that new Norman name, Monetville or Montville, and to confirm the inference the tenants seem Normans, Walter and Ansgar.

Why was this done? If any opinion can be formed it was because the feudal Lord intended it to be, what it afterwards became, the *caput Baronie*. His eye had travelled thither from Stafford whilst the Conquest was yet incomplete, and his own future undefined, but Montville, the Mount town, answered the purpose of his ambition, was in the centre of his estates, and near enough to the county town to support his claim to its entire custody and possession should only circumstances be favourable.

The Manor of Stafford or of Castre or Castle, had then been part of the older Manor of Bradeley. It was composed of several parts. Long before the reign of Henry VIII. it is found to have stretched from the foot of Billington Hill and along the Sow to the point of junction of that river with the Penk, a distance of not less than four miles. The Sow and Penk affected its lower lying part, and so continually overflowed their banks as to reduce it to the condition of a marsh (*mariscum*), and obtain for the whole Manor sometimes the designation of Castre with the Marsh, "*Castre cum Marisco*," as it is called in a Subsidy Roll of the sixth year of Edward III. [O.]

In addition, the manor had a considerable piece of ground to the north-east of the Sow, which lies between the road to Uttoxeter and that river. How this came to the Barons does not appear, but it seems to have been at an early date, as the town of Stafford once had certain rights of common there.

Had the Manor had its extreme points connected by even lying instead of irregularly and indented boundary lines, it would have contained a much greater acreage; and its actual acreage too was seriously diminished by the liberality with which at a remote date

a King or Kings had enriched the Royal Chapels of Stafford and Penkridge; in the former case by the Church itself, called St. Mary's in the Castle, as well as by land lying about the Dean's Hill in Castle Church Parish, and in the latter by Coppenhall having come to form a prebend in the Royal Chapel of Penkridge.

Had this been all, the Manor would not have marked so greatly in the annals of Barons, County, and Borough, but let alone its members of Forebridge, Rickerscote, Silkmore, and Burton, the Manor became especially an object of interest as the site of one of the numerous castles of the Staffords, and more especially as the one essentially, although somewhat mysteriously associated with the origin of their oldest Barony, and with the name first borne by them in England in the eleventh century.

FREE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS DE CASTRO, STAFFORD.

The dedication of this Chapel recalls the memory of an incident that may indicate its origin, and that created a powerful impression upon Western Christendom towards the end of the eleventh century. The story is told with curious and life-like details by Vitalis [Lib. VII., c. 12]. The part taken in it by a very remarkable Norman knight, William Pantulf, afterwards Governor of the King's Castle at Stafford, with the dedication of the Chapel near the *caput* of the Stafford Barony to a saint of the same name as that borne by the then Baron, Nicholas son of Robert, these circumstances seem to furnish a probable date for the foundation and dedication of the original Chapel here to St. Nicholas of Bari. The Saint was called so after the translation of his remains from Myra in Asia Minor to Bari in Italy, by order of Urso, Archbishop of the latter place. This took place about the year 1088, when Myra with its Church St. Nicholas, a mile away, and now used only as a cemetery, where the Saint's body had reposed since the fourth century, had fallen into the hands of the Turks; but the Church seems to have been left undisturbed to the Christians. Three vessels were despatched from Bari, and the crews succeeded by great audacity and persistence in obtaining amidst great perils, like the Argonauts of old, the object of their enterprising voyage. [F.]

About this time William Pantulf, says the Chronicler, "a

gallant soldier, endowed with great talents and well known among the nobles of England and Italy, betook himself to Apulia, and was allowed to possess himself of part of the famous relics. These on his return to Normandy he deposited with great reverence in his own Church of Noron, where they were, on the Knight's invitation, subsequently received by Ralph, Abbot of Séez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The recent purchase on behalf of the nation of the great picture by Raphael of the Madonna degli Ansedei, revives the memory of the legend, for the great artist has placed St. Nicholas of Bari on the left hand of the Madonna.

That this chapel was existent in the time of the third Baron in Castre is evident, for Dugdale in his "Baronage," Vol. I., p. 156, cites an *Inspeximus* by E. II. of a charter, whereby Robert de Stafford conveyed to the Canons of Kenilworth this Chapel of St. Nicholas within the Castle de Stafford. The *Inspeximus* is in the "Monasticon;" it specifies also the Churches of Madeley and Tiesho, and its mill there, which serve to identify the grant with that notified by the same Baron Robert to the Bishops of Coventry and Worcester cited in the "Staffordshire Historical Collections," Vol. II., p. 210, as given by him to the Church and Canons of Staines.

In this notification Robert de Stafford describes what he gave at Stafford as "*capellam meam de Stafford.*" If then the subject matter of the two grants was the same, the one grant would explain the other as having been of no chapel in the town of Stafford, but of that within the Baron's "Castre." If Dugdale saw both grants (which show that a change of the donor's intention with respect to the two religious bodies had taken effect), that learned writer would seem to have had no scruple in treating the Chapel of Stafford and the Chapel of St. Nicholas within the Castle as one and identical. Indeed, the final composition between the two Convents of Stone and Kenilworth, arrived at A.D. 1260 by a decree of Roger Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, of which Dugdale inserted an abbreviated account in his "Warwickshire," would seem to leave little doubt upon the subject, and if it did it is set at rest by a reference to the Patent Roll of 10 Edward III., Part II., m. 33, wherein it is said that the Convent of Kenilworth made express remission or abandonment of lands and patronage to the Abbey of Stanes, and amongst many other things of this very Chapel of St. Nicholas described therein, as if to rectify misconception, "*Ecclesiam St. Nicholai de Castello de Stafford.*"

The Lansdowne MSS., Part III., p. 24, refers to Inquisitions, from which it appears that the chapel with others was found to be amongst the derelict and concealed lands after the dissolution of the religious bodies.

So we learn from the 38th "Dep. Keep. Rep.," page 632, that depositions were taken in 1614 in a proceeding by the Attorney-General against Dickenson, wherein amongst other matters it was stated that Francis Dorrington was farmer of the tithes of the late free chapel, or *chantry*, of St. Nicholas within Stafford Castle. Some years previously there had been an Inquisition upon a recognizance for the Earl of Northampton against the lands of Edward, late Lord Stafford. The defendant was the grandson of Richard and son of Simon Dickenson.

With respect to this deposition, I may say that I have seen in a chest containing Stafford Muniments, of which the late Lord Stafford was afterwards owner, a paper, numbered 315, with the title, "As to right of tithes of the dissolved Chapel of St. Nicholas within the Castle of Stafford, claimed by Henry Lord Stafford" (meaning clearly Henry the son of the last Duke).

A previous mention of this chapel in the Escheat of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham will hereafter be spoken to, and an entry referred to, which seems to justify the suggestion that the chapel erected by the architect of the Castle *tempore* Edward III. was not quite upon the same site as an older Free Chapel of St. Nicholas.

The "old chapel here adjoining to the Castle" (see *infra*, "The Escheat tempore H. VIII.") would seem to have been a bone of contention, and probably therefore neglected for many years; and it was not until by the decree of the Bishop and the Patent of Edward III. upholding it, that the Chapel reverted to the Stafford foundation at Stanes that the Earl named the new structure as one to be erected concurrently with his Castle, A.D. 1347.

There is, however, certain evidence of a former chapel's existence in the 21st of the first Edward, for a Patent of that date records a Royal grant to Thomas (son of Nicholas, late Baron of Stafford) Clerk of the free Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Castle of Stafford, then vacant and in the King's grant, by virtue of his custody of the land and heir of the aforesaid Nicholas, deceased, a tenant *in capite*; Ralph, first Earl Stafford, who built the Castle mentioned in the Survey, was grandson of Nicholas.

The following finding of a jury illustrates the condition of the

Barons' tenants at two of their most important manors in Staffordshire.

An inquisition was directed (42 H. III) to ascertain amongst other things what land Ralph Basset of Weledon held of the King at the time of his death. It was found that he held one small fee of "Mortayne" of the Baron of Stafford, wherefore he owes *suit at his Court of Stafford every three weeks, and scutage when it happens*; and the jurors added that *Ralph holds nothing of the King in the county of Stafford, and that there are of the rent of the free tenants of Maddeley 18s. 8d. per annum. Of the farm of the mills there. . . . Of the farm of the villeins there are yearly £7 9s. 8d. They also say there are in demesne two carucates of land, valued at £6 per annum. Of the aid of the villeins and perquisites there are £6 per annum.*

The Subsidy Roll of the 6 E. III. (¹⁷⁷₁) has some entries which concern the manor. I cite from the original in the Record Office.

Burton and Ricascote (*sic*)—

de Willelmo le Palmere	..	..	xviiij. d.
„ Willelmo Capellano..	..	..	xv. d.
„ Petro Dracun	..	..	xviiij. d.
„ Johe de Doreynton	..	..	ix. d.
„ Rico Kyrn	..	..	ij. s.
„ Rico Attewalle	..	..	ij. s.
„ Roberto Hybenes	..	..	xv. d.
„ Rogo Marel	..	..	xi. d.
„ Rogo le Palmere	..	..	xiiiij. d.
„ Willo de Ricarscote	..	..	xij. d.
Summa	..	..	xiiij. s. iiij. d.

Coppenhall—

Rico de Boterhalle	..	..	iiij. s. vi. d.
Adn Otto	..	..	ij. s. vi. d.
Rico Wyliames	..	..	iiij. s.
Will atte Jake	..	..	ij. s. vi. d.
Rico on the Grene	..	..	xviiij. d.
Stephn Buller	..	..	xx. d.
Nichol Skel	..	..	xvi. d.

Castrum cu' Marisco—

Thoma de Pipe	..	..	iiij. s.
Gilberto le Coke	..	..	xiiij. d.
Willo de Marisco	..	..	xij. d.
Henrico de Marisco	..	..	xj. d.

Felicia le Palmer	..	..	..	xij. <i>d.</i>
Willo de Compton	..	..	..	vij. <i>d.</i>
Willo le Herdamon	..	..	..	viii. <i>d. ob.</i>
Forbrugg—				
de Priore St. Johs	..	..	..	ij. <i>s.</i>
Rico le Heuster..	..	..	..	xij. <i>d.</i>
Willo le Cere ..	..	..	..	ij. <i>s.</i>
Henro le Fischer	..	..	..	vj. <i>d.</i>
Johe le Coupie ..	..	..	..	xij. <i>d.</i>
Rad ^o le Smyth ..	..	..	..	xij. <i>d.</i>
Rico de Oledys ..	..	..	..	xii. <i>d.</i>
Henro le Wudeward	..	..	..	xij. <i>d.</i>
Summa	..	..	xxi.	<i>s. i. d. ob.</i>

After the Restoration, when Gregory King, then in the service of Dugdale, visited Staffordshire, he made an entry in his note-book¹ that in Castlechurch parish there were at Hide Lee and Burton twelve or fourteen houses, and the principal householders were Mrs. Whitgreve, at Burton Hall; Mr. Thorley, and Mr. Wilson. Rickerscot contained also twelve or fourteen houses; the only householder he names there was Mr. Sampson Barnfield, eldest son of Barnfield of Dunston. At Forbridge on Stafford Green were thirty or forty houses. Besides these, the Lees Farm was Mrs. Worswick's, who was the "widdow mother" of Mr. Thomas Worswick. Finally Mr. Berington had Rowley Hall, and two little houses were at Risonbrook. A little later an ecclesiastical census was taken, in 1676,² which computed the total of parishioners above sixteen years of age apparently, and assigned one hundred and seventy-four to the Conformists, seven to the Papists, and two to the Non-conformists; at a time when the corresponding numbers at Stafford itself were eleven hundred, thirteen, and one hundred and fifty-five.

The freeholders' book for Cuddleston Hundred in 1653, when Robert Ducy was Sheriff, had mentioned at Burton, Tho. Whitgreve, Richard Therley, Will. Bradberry; at Dunston, Thomas Worsey; at Silkmore, Hunfrey Gouldsmith; at Rickerscott, Richard Hinton, General Coroner; Willm. Gouldsmith, Francis Egginton.

The list of freeholders, copyholders and leaseholders qualified to serve as jurors in 1764, gives for Burton and Ricarscote the

¹ Salt MS. 147, p. 57.

² Salt MS. 33.

following. John Iturllibutt, yeoman; Abraham Ward, yeoman; Richard Moor, yeoman; John Moor, yeoman.

A manor, and still more an honor or a barony, implied in this country for several centuries, although not so long as in France, an important share of sovereign rights; for a feudal lord was, for centuries, actually sovereign in his own fief towards his tenants and all subject to his jurisdiction; but not more than the King could he, legally, dispense with the intervention of jurors: in his Court Baron these were the Charterers or Freeholders, whilst in his Customary Court the suitors assisted the lord or his steward, who was Judge. All had to be regulated by reasonable customary right. These courts were vexatious, they were obstructive to agriculture, but still they responded to a prevalent tendency not unknown at the present day, in favour of local courts and self-government. The Manor Court has been termed the field of action of the civil life of the community.

If we except the great ecclesiastical manors, scarcely another manor in Staffordshire could compete with Earl Edwin's Manor of Bradeley in the number of its berewicks, members or sub-manors. In Norman times the moat generally marked the manorial residence; the moat rendered the owner safe from surprise; and, when the exercise of the right to crenellate or castellate had been reserved to Royal favour, the Barons, forbidden to build castles, said Dr. Johnson, made themselves inaccessible by moats. In modern times the moat disappears often under the hand of man or as a consequence of artificial drainage or diversion of water-courses. The sites of manor houses can still be traced in the manor of the castle in three instances: one moated enclosure, conjectured to have been that of the "chief messuage" mentioned in the inquisition of Edmund Baron Stafford in the reign of Edward I., is noticeable at the foot of the hills of Stafford Castle and Billington, on the right side of the road leading to the latter place, in a small field through which passes the brook that fed it, called to this day the "Moat Field." The site is to the eye less remarkable for size and conformation than one presently mentioned a mile away at Hyde; the moat is also less striking, but might receive a considerable watershed from the hilly slopes that border it on the east and west, let alone a brook called Crowfoot that flows close to it from the south. The area is two hundred and twelve feet long and one hundred and twenty-four broad; its longer sides, like those of the Castle, look north and south. From

this measurement this chief messuage, although in a less imposing position, may have actually filled much more space than the Castle, *i.e.*, if we suppose the former set close upon the edge of the plateau, or even if we suppose an ambitus not covered by buildings of two yards all round. Mr. Clifford's Tixall gives the proportion of the ground plot of the Castle, whence I draw the inference that the Castle filled an area of one hundred and twenty feet long by about sixty-two broad. [G.]

Another moated place was Burton, a mile distant from the Castle; but the moat there is now dry, and is used for ornamental purposes. A third field there is, not far from Burton, remarkable for fosses and earthworks; and also, at Hyde Lea, half a mile away one Ordnance map marks out traces of a camp. There seems no doubt of that field having been the site of the manor house of the Bagots of Hyde *Lea*, so called to distinguish their Hyde from another near Brewood. Hyde Lea occupies a spot on the edge of the Manor of Castre, but still within a mile of the Castle, so that, had we to seek for the ancient seedplot of the second race of Barons, so famous for their grandeur and their misfortunes, more unlikely places might be named.

Other moated places remain, although not in the Manor of the Castle, yet on its border, and especially at Littywood. That Hyde Lea belonged to the Bagots is, however, certain. (See Dugdale's "Warwickshire," under Morton Bagot.) And even at the present day the Tithe Reference Book refers to two large fields, close to Rowley Park, called Upper Bagot's Oak and Lower Bagot's Oak. [H.] They are within a field or two of Hyde Lea, midway between it and the Castle. Walter Chetwynd called the Bagots of Hyde Lea the chief branch, but he thought the Domesday tenant of Bramselle (which place he agrees with Mr. Eyton in regarding as Bramshall and not Bromley) to be undoubted progenitor to the several branches which afterwards flourished at Blymhill, Brineton, and Hyde in this county, and at Baginton and Preston Bagod in Warwickshire. This same learned writer cites a deed in the possession of Sir Walter Bagot, Baronet, to show that in the time of King Henry II. Hugh Bagot passed certain lands at Bromley to one Norman, whose son William re-conveyed to Nicholas Bagod, his son and heir. In the time of King John, Simon Bagott wrote himself, he adds, lord of this place; but he had not then the whole manor, for Sir Hugh Bagod, Knight, his son, not long after purchased the fourth part of it from Henry the son of Wyamar in fee

farme, paying to his heirs 2 markes yearly. This Sir Hugh and Richard his son bare for their arms, as appears by their seals on a roll of arms made in the time of King Henry III.: Ermine 2 chevronells azure. From them descended Sir Ralph, Knight, who in the time of King Edward III. married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Richard de Blythfield in her mother's right, who was Lord of Blythfield, who was Lord of Bromley by inheritance, of Blythfield in his mother's right, and of Field by an exchange with the Abbot of Burton.

Ulpherus de Coppenhall appears as witness to an early Stafford deed in the Seile Cartulary (*see* "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. I., pp. 182, 198; *circa* 1140, says General Wrottesley), and from Ulpherus, according to notes by Huntbach and Loxdale (Salt MS.), Hyde passed to William Bagot by deed, *s.d.*, cited by Huntbach, MS. 187, No. 306. Ulferus de Copenhall granted to William Bagott half his lands in Copenhall and the way that leadeth to *Hyde* that he holds against a wood in Butterhall. Also Richard the son of Simon de Butterhall granted to Ralph son of the Baron of Stafford, a half obolus rent in the *Manor of Hyde and Copenhall* which he used to pay to Henry de Butterhall, Lord of Butterhall, for the same manor. (Shaw MS. 390; Coppenhall.) Two brothers, Galfrid and Robert de Copenhall, appear as benefactors in the Stone Cartulary; the one of land in Copenhale, the other of an annual rent of 2s. in Buttrehale. ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. I., p. 182.)

Buttrehall is not in the Castle Parish, if we mention it, it is because it is connected somewhat with the descent of Hyde Lea. Butterhall (Butterhill) appears again in the escheat enumerating the Staffordshire estates of the first Earl of Stafford (I.P.M. 46 Ed. III., m. 62), where it immediately follows Hide Coppenhall, Tillington, Castel, Forbridge, Stafford.

Afterwards ("Chancery Proceedings," *temp.* Eliz., Vol. I., p. 191) Edward Howell claims by demise against Edmond Grene, Dorothy his wife, and William Cauke, a messuage and lands thereto belonging in Butterell, sometime the inheritance of Ralph Grene, and held under a lease for lives granted by the said Grene.

Again ("Chancery Proceedings," *temp.* Eliz., Vol. I., p. 77), Daniel Bannister claimed by descent, with what result appears not, against Mary Sticke a messuage and land in Butterhill.

Loxdale's and Huntbach "Additions to Erdeswicke," after saying of Burton that it was Lord Stafford's in the time of the Conquest,

and Earl Edwin's before, proceed thus: "Near are the Hide fields and Hyde Ley, and the ruins of an ancient place called the Hyde, of which nothing is now remaining save the Pools and the Moat. William Bagot of the Hyde juxta Stafford bore Argent 2 chevrons az., and lived here, Mr. Dugdale tells us in his 'Warwickshire.' He was younger brother of Harvey Bagot, who married Milicent de Stafford. If tradition can be relied on, it (Hyde) went after by daughters to the Lords Stafford and Verneys, by whose descendants it is still enjoyed." The above cited "Additions" adds that the estate (Hyde seems intended) is mentioned in Domesday Book among Lord Stafford's vills, though now quite depopulated. A little to the south stands Copenhall, the Lord Stafford's at the Conquest, but since by the aforesaid match the Verneys' (Note, "Salt MS. 158, p. 194.") I have inserted this note at length for several reasons. I think Hyde Lea is here spoken of as mentioned in Domesday. It is not expressly so mentioned, it may be impliedly. It may be included under one of two of the Domesday vills of Robert de Stafford, *i.e.*, either Burton or Copenhall, between which it may be said to be situated. It may again be the very anonymous manor, the only anonymous one, described in Domesday amongst Robert de Stafford's estates as follows:—

"Robert holds two hides, and Urfer from him. Uluricus held it [*i.e.*, in the time of Edward], and was a liber homo. There is arable land for two ploughs, and there are seven villeins and five boors with two carucates. There is a mill of 12*d.*, and a furlong of wood. It it worth (*valet*) 16*s.*"

This Saxon thane-name Uluric often occurs in the census, as the name of one who had held under both Kings, as a tenant *in capite*, indeed as son of one who held in "alod," allodially, from King Edward. He is named as, Venator, as thane, as sochemannus, as a liber homo, as a liegeman of Stigand Archbishop; and in many different ways does the name occur besides, and generally in a way that marks the bearer as of high rank, or as King's thane.

Urfer on the other hand is never named in Domesday except as under tenant; twice he is so in Staffordshire, and once in Warwickshire; always under tenant of Robert de Stafford. In the latter county he held one hide, and a virgate at a place called Ulwarditone, where in the previous reign his predecessor had been Simund a Dane. In Staffordshire he held under Robert de Stafford two estates, one of three, the other of two hides; both had been held in Edward's time by Uluric. The estates were in Cuddleston

Hundred; that of three hides was Haughton, that of two hides the unnamed manor above referred to.

Ulpher (A.D. 1122-25), General Wrottesley thinks, may be the Urfer of Domesday ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., p. 119), which encourages me to think that really the manor which he held may have been, as I have said, the anonymous manor in Domesday.

It says of Coppenhall, "3 liberi homines held it before the Norman time." The "Liber Niger" speaks of Geoffrey de Copenhale as having two parts of a knight's fee in demesne.

It appears twice from feodaries not of later date than E. I., that Robert de Copenhale held a knight's fee there of the fee of Morteyn [see the Teste de Nevil *apud* Stebbing Shaw Appendix to "General History of Staffordshire," Vol. I., pp. 25 to 27], and that William Bagot held one also at Hyde.

Mr. Eyton, "Antiquities of Shropshire," Vol. III., pp. 25, 26, from the position in the text of Domesday Book of the anonymous manor between those of Ridware and Halton (Haughton), and from both being held by Urfer, doubted not Urfer to have been ancestor of the de Halughtons, who afterwards held Weston Jones, which he therefore takes to have been the anonymous manor, but from seemingly insufficient grounds. General Wrottesley's conjecture that Urfer and Ulpher of Coppenhall were the same person, leads rather to the conclusion that the anonymous manor was really Hyde Ley. Hyde was also between Rydware and Halton, and far nearer to both than was Weston Jones. Weight is not always to be attributed in identification to mere proximate position in the text of Domesday Book, but it seems to be Mr. Eyton's principal reason for thinking Weston Jones the anonymous manor.

"Depopulated," say the annotators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But could it ever have been populous? Ancient it certainly was. Dr. Wilkes wrote long ago that the name of the adjoining vill, Burton, standing without any additional description, denoted an existence prior to the Burton which was distinguished by the description of, "upon Trent." I do not know whether much weight can be attached to such a contention. But the principal word Burton in each instance justifies us in supposing an ancient Saxon town with artificial defences. And these, no doubt, in perilous times, would, as the boroughs of the twelfth and subsequent centuries did, attract inhabitants. Hyde Lea and Burton have often been named together, but nothing but their near vicinity lends countenance to any notion that they were one manor. On

the contrary, Hyde Lea has disused roads in its vicinity, and contains remarkable earthworks. They are suggestive indeed of works thrown up at different times and by different races, and perhaps for different purposes; perhaps some to deepen pools or constitute defences, that no doubt at some time or other had led to struggles. But the separate inheritance of mesne tenants of the Barons, of which Hyde Lea appears to have been part, led to a different kind of struggle, namely, one between junior races of the Staffords, faintly alluded to by Erdeswick under Bramshall. [Y.]

It was the fate of this founder of Staffordshire history never to have had his original MS. carefully collated. The original is buried somewhere, or has somehow disappeared. [Y.] The edition of 1717, followed by, and substantially the same as that of 1723, was certainly very faulty; still it preserved in one instance a true descent where the latest editor, Mr. Harwood, gives an erroneous one; compare page 512, line 6, of the edition of 1844, where Sir Humphry Stafford with the silver hand has been erroneously made brother instead of father of Alice Cheynie.

This estate of Hyde, called Hyde near Burton, or Stafford, to distinguish it from another estate of similar name near Brewood, contains eminent proof in itself of ancient importance in its above mentioned earthworks. Hyde Lea and Littywood each appear to have been used for defensive purposes by more than a single race; the Normans adding interior defences to those previously existent. If the first constructors of those at Littywood were Normans, there seems nothing surprising, for caution would have taught them to establish smaller outposts some miles occasionally away from their principal lines of communication, in vicinities where forests abounded, and numerous assailants were likely to seek their shelter.

BILLINGTON.

Of Billington only a small part is now in the Castle Parish. The registers make mention of a Chapel there, and a field is still called Chapel Field. Robert Lees, in his will of 6th January, 1546, gives "yerely for ever to the priest for the time being celebrating in the Chapel at Billington xij*d*." [L.]

THE HYDES.

The ancient disused road, the moated fields at Hyde, the elevated camp-like plateau of Hyde Ley, to which an ordnance map accords

the honour of a Roman camp, the moated house of Burton, once the estate of the Palmers, and the proximity of these places to the caput of the Norman barony, have all concurred no doubt to assign early importance to this vicinity. Burton is mentioned in Domesday Book as a berewick of Bradeley, and consequently as part of the fief of Robert de Stafford.

It is impossible to examine that plateau, of a side of which the town of Hyde Lea is a centre, where the road from Burton to Copenhall is crossed by two others, of which that on the right leads to a disused green road at right angles to it that points on one side toward Butterhill and Littywood, and on the other toward Rowley and the Castle Hill; impossible to observe the conformation of the surrounding fields, and especially of those on the west, where, in several adjoining enclosures, without a stone or timber to mark human habitations, remain undoubted indications of human contrivance, and not be struck by something very worthy of attention. For we recognize a spot where, in olden times, men must have congregated for purposes of isolation or defence in times of peril. The principal enclosure is called in detailed maps the Moats, and in popular language, the Castle. Into this depository there are marks of drainage from fields to the south-west, and from a spring close at hand. The fields bear the name to this day of Spring Fields. It is, as I have said before, very probably the estate "without a name" in the Staffordshire Domesday, which belonged to Robert de Stafford as tenant *in capite*, and to Urfer as mesne tenant. On the south is still a woody piece corresponding to the furlong of wood therein enumerated, and out of its extremity from a reedy pit issues a brook that fed the pools, and then having a way cut or enlarged for it into an adjoining meadow, trends as "the Rising Brook" through Burton and Rickerscote; and having again been arrested in Silkmere to feed the pool of the ancient Leper House of Radford, it comes to bear the name Spital Brook, and finally winds its way towards the point of confluence of the Penk with the Sow.

The embankments or causeways of unusual proportions which in several directions border what once were pools seem, it has been suggested, intended to resist the weight of great quantities of accumulated water; whereas the rude hedges rather than banks that rise still higher to the south-west and north-east on the outer sides, may in times comparatively modern have been com-

posed of excavated earth, and there thrown together to permit the escape of water no longer required either for defence or for mills; the former useless on the times becoming less disturbed, the latter dispensed with by the more recent invention of windmills. It is not without consideration and examination that I have alluded to the furlong of wood as serving to identify this Domesday estate. I have compared the little wood that remains with the entry in the Domesday account, and that upon a modern tithe map (six chains to the inch) I find the wood nine chains long, and breadthways at the extremity adjoining the Moats it is a chain, but it grows less and less wide towards the other, the further, extremity. Upon the whole the present state of this wood appears to me very corroborative of its identity with the furlong of *sylva* in the unnamed estate in Domesday. No doubt it is much more limited in area (*i.e.*, one acre one rood and thirty perches instead of ten acres), but undiminished in length, and following the water itself from its source. We must allow for owners from time to time having encroached upon its ancient limits, and “essarted” upon one or both of the sides, but left its impracticable watercourse intact. Eight centuries have elapsed since it was first described in the census, and if it has dwindled, it has certainly done so less than has been the case with English woods generally. Compare what concerns the wood with Mr. Eyton’s computation as to the furlongs of wood in his “Dorsetshire Survey,” p. 27, and what concerns the mill, with the remarks in the same “Survey” at p. 41.

Hyde was, as the word denotes, a place geldable or taxable for national defence, “hidata” as it was termed. Hyde was, like Burton, of two hides. It is not likely to have been neglected in the Census, so that more remains to justify the inference already drawn, that the anonymous manor really was this place; the Domesday officials not having any but imperfect knowledge, did not realise the truth that Hyde or Hydes was the local name of two Hides, which they in their hesitation perhaps preferred to leave specially unnamed. If in point of fact the original note taken upon the spot did not give to the estate the very name of “two Hides,” and the revisers misapprehending this, did not omit the name of the two Hides, thinking it a mere repetition of the geldable value. And we may remember that the term “Hide or hides” often does occur as the designation of Saxon manors. So we have Half Hide in Pirehill Hundred, Five hides in co.

Somerset; as also twelve "Hides Hundred" at Glastonbury, as to both which see Eyton's "Domesday Studies for Somersetshire," pp. 144-5. But whether it was so or not, the place must have been important, and we know that at an early date it fell to the Bagots, and remained a century or two in their hands, until it was purchased or acquired by the then chief of their family and its first Earl.

The estate of Hyde Lea at an early date formed part of the Manor of "Castre." Whether at the date of the great Census it belonged to Bradeley I cannot say, but even then the first Chief de Stafford was tenant *in capite*. No doubt it had been part of Earl Edwin's escheat, and a very remarkable one. It lies between Copenhall and Butrehill on one side, and Burton on the other, and has been alternately spoken of in records in connexion both with Copenhall and with Burton. Indeed it is possible that in early times the lords of Copenhall were the lords also of Hyde Lea, which may account for the latter name not being so prominent; still it always has been more so than Buttrehill and less often confounded with Copenhall. The confusion as to Hyde Lea may however be attributable to another cause. In the "Testa de Nevill" (*apud* Stebbing Shaw, "Hist. Gen.," App., Vol. I., p. xxv.) we find Hyde described as the Manor of Hyde alone; this was in the reign of King Edward I., when it is assigned to William Bagot, and held as one knight's fee from Nicholas Baron of Stafford. Long previously W. . . . Bagot de la Yde stands as first witness to a deed confirming a grant of Drayton to the Convent of St. Thomas the Martyr near Stafford. The previous grant was by Harvey Bagot, the fifth Baron. William de Stafford in his confirmation, said therein to be with the assents of his lord and brother *Hervey Bagot*, and of his lady and mother Miliscent, expressly terms the first grantor his *father* Hervey. The confirmation to which as I have said W. . . . Bagot de la Yde stands as first witness, has also attached other witnesses' names in the following order: Eudo de Mer . . . de Dulverne, Robert del Bec, John de Salt, Hugh de Dokeseye, Hugh de Haenegate, Gerard de la Lehe, Godfrey de . . . Thomas de Borton, Richard son of Musse, Will. son of Robert, Walter Wunian, William son of Will. (*sic*) Wimer, and many others. The deed is indorsed, "Carta Hervi bakot." It may be remarked as singular and important that the second son of Hervey Bagot and Miliscent calls himself Will. de Stafford, and calls his elder brother Hervey, Hervey Bagot. See

the confirmation at large in the first vol. of the "Collect. Top. et Genealogica," p. 249.

Dugdale ("Warwickshire," p. 567) and Walter Chetwynd ("Pirehill Hundred MS.," p. 251, transcript in W. Salt Library) thought all these families sprang from a common ancestor with Harvey, himself a younger son, who since assumed the name of Stafford, and became the founder of the second famous race of the Barons of that name. The identity of the Hyde branch and of the Warwickshire branch I infer from dower in the Bagot manors in Warwickshire at Moreton and Lockesley, and in Staffordshire at Hyde and Coppenhall, being claimed by Ascira or Azilia widow of Robert Bagot ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. IV., p. 117; *ibid.*, p. 118, Vol. pp. 167, 182). And if Thomas del Hyde mentioned as holding Blynhill with three others from Nicholas Baron de Stafford in the time of Edward I. be not of the other Hyde near Brewood, such tenure tends to show the identity of the Bagots of Hyde and Blynhill. See Feodary (T. E. I.), cited in Stebbing Shaw's "Hist. Testa de Nevil," App. to Gen. Hist., Vol. I., p. 25.

The Bagots of this branch appear to have parted with their interest in their Hyde estate about the thirty-third year of Edward II., for such is to be inferred from a deed cited by Walter Chetwynd in his "Hist. of Pirehill Hundred," Salt Library transcript MS. 40, p. 260. [H.]

The Duchy of Lancaster Records (43 D. K. Rep. App. Part I. pp. 304, 210) mention the courts held for "Forbrugge and Chirche Eyton," and the report states that the following Staffordshire places are conspicuously alluded to therein, 12 and 13 E. I., *i.e.*, *Apeton*, *Arleston* (?), *Berton* (*Barton*), *Billyngton*, *Bradeley*, *Burgh*, *Burton*, *Eyton*, *Longnore*, *Madeleye*, *Mitton*, *Orselowe*, *Ricardescote*, *Rule*, *Shradicote*, *Tillyngton*. The places italicised were nearly all in the old Manor of Bradley, and some in the present Manor of the Castle. How they came to be so mentioned in those Duchy records the calendar does not show, but may be guessed, for those estates in the Honor of Stafford, had, I think, most, if not all, become the appanage of a junior branch of the Bagot Staffords, that is, the branch sprung from the Knight to whom also Bramshall had been given, and from which descended the Humphrey Stafford Earl of Devon, on whose attainder the estates were seized, and restored afterwards, after a litigation between two other branches of the same family, to whose benefit, notwithstanding the attainder of Humphrey, they inured owing to a settlement made long before

that attainder. Upon this subject, see Rolls of Parliament, *tempore* H. VII., p. 325. [Y.]

The subject of this second ennobled branch of the House of Stafford has a bearing upon the status of the principal branch: for not only did that second branch give birth to the other Stafford families of Hoke, Southwick, Devon, and Grafton, but several of its members became distinguished in the State, and others marked in the fifteenth century as dignitaries of the Church; whilst others interest in a different sense, as fugitives to sanctuaries or subjects of attainder; upon which subjects the reader may find abundant evidence not only in the general history of England and in the Baronage, but in the different county histories.

The connexion of the Bagots of Hyde with those of Bramshall, and of both with Harvey Bagot and Miliscent de Stafford his wife, is evidenced by the charters that support the titles of each of the branches of those ancient families. A family settlement was made upon William a second son, who styled himself de Stafford, although his father was Harvey Bagot, perhaps the better to distinguish himself from an uncle William Bagot. The settlement embraced the Bramshall estate; and William de Stafford's descendants, who were also ennobled as Earls of Devon, held it in conjunction with many other original Stafford estates, and especially Hyde. Thus it came to pass that many manors, some parts of, or very near the principal manor of the Barons Stafford, such as Riekerscote and Coppenhall, became the inheritance of the Staffords called of Hooke. For upon the inquisition *p.m.* 12 Ed. IV., on the death of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knight, he is found to have died seised of the Hyde, with other adjacent or neighbouring estates, notably those of Penkrich, Littlewood, Covenhale (? Coppenhall), as well as of Perton, Ameleote, Bromshulf, and Lyttley (Luttley), all in Staffordshire. Many of these have it is believed descended to Lord Willoughby de Brooke through the Verneys, Grevilles, and other partitioners.

From an entry of the marriage settlement of Lady Ann Nevil and other documents in Box 134 in the Court of Wards and Liveries, of the reign respectively of Ed. VI., Eliz., and James I., to which Grevilles and Brookes, Lady Ann Nevil and the Dowager Lady Catherine Westmorland are parties, it seems that the Manor of Hyde-Coppenhall had been somehow settled on the successive marriages of the first-named Lady. (Ninth Report of the Dep. Keeper, 61-2.)

BUTTREHILL.

At Buttrehill (called Butrehale in an ancient deed in Mr. Eyton's "Stafford Cartularly Collections for Staffordshire," Vol. I., p. 182, and Vol. III., p. 275) stands a disused windmill, not old, but of solid construction, which, with the estate, now belongs to Lord Hatherton. When Coppenhall and Hyde formerly came into one owner's hands, a windmill so placed would probably supersede any older water mill at Hyde, depending upon uncertain water supply; indeed, if I am right in calling this the anonymous estate of Domesday Book, I must take it with the mill there mentioned, which was only of 12*d*. (See *supra*, pp. 29 and 33, and footnote below.)

Butterhill is on the south-west of Hyde, and is entirely in Coppenhall Parish; but of the Hyde estate, seemingly a part was in Coppenhall, and a part in Castre.

BURTON.

Burton to the north-east of both was, we have seen, a member of Bradeley when Domesday Book was compiled. Whether there was a mesue tenant of importance at an earlier date than the Palmers we know not, nor are we positively certain that Burton was one of the prebends of the King's Chapel at Stafford, and paid it its tithes. Blurton, not Burton, is called a prebend in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of the time of Henry VIII. From its proximity to Trentham Abbey, we would expect Blurton to have contributed to that Foundation, and this we perhaps find was the case. Compare upon this subject the petition of the inhabitants of Blurton, and in the Chapelry of the same name of the parish of Trentham, where the tythes are said to amount to £30 per annum, and to be parcel of Sir Richard Leveson's improper Rectory of Trentham. (Abstract of Royal Compositions in "Salt Library," Vol. I., p. 387.) So that it seems rather that there is an error of one letter "l" too many in the account in the "Valor

[NOTE.] Noteworthy is it that a field on the north side of the Hyde estate is called also the Windmill Field. A memorandum in the Ronton Cartulary, *s.d.*, but in a hand of the sixteenth century ("Collections," Vol. IV., p. 295), speaks of certain fields as exchanged by Robert Whitgreave, which were situate between the park of the Castle and the park of the Hyde and the demesne of Bilyngton. Near the moats of Hydefield several fields between them and Coppenhall are called by names indicating that they had once formed a park.

Ecclesiasticus" of the constituents of the prebends of the King's Chapels at Stafford. Mr. Harwood has taken this for granted, for he reads Burton in the Commentary, edition 1843, p. 145, as the Prebend Burton, without even adverting to Blurton. I cannot affirm this to be correct, but I see an argument in favour of it from the Palmers being afterwards mesne owners of the former and the name Palmer appearing in early Subsidy Rolls, and in the Inquisitions of the Nones. In the latter Roger le Palmer presents himself at the head of the twelve jurors for the parish of Saint Mary, Stafford. In the Nones, p. 128, and in the Subsidy Roll, it is William le Palmer who heads the list for Burton. [O.]

A noke of land and the half of a messuage in Burton near Stafford was by a fine of 23 E. I. (1295) acknowledged by the deforciant Thomas le Say de Mefford (?) and Clemence his wife to belong to the demandant Richard de la Dune, who gave to the former thereupon six marks.

The heir of Roger Taylor is said to hold half a fee in Burton in an inquest of knights' fees, *temp.* Richard II.; *apud* Shaw, "History," Vol. I., Introductory matter xxxiii.

We have seen that the Palmers were there previously as owners. Dugdale treats the Palmers of Merston near Stafford as of the Yorkshire family of that name. His words are, "Sir William Palmer, now of Clerkenwell in the county of Middlesex, Knight, a branch of those Palmers of Yorkshire (by a younger son that settled at Merston [Marston] in Staffordshire), who bear for their arms argent upon two barrs gules (? sable), three trefoils of the first with a greyhound in chief sable." This family are frequently mentioned in the registers of St. Mary's, Stafford, to which it gave two Rectors. It became allied to the Stafford families of Dorington, Cradock, Archdale, and Eld. Whether it was connected in blood with the Palmers of Burton I have no evidence before me to show, but it is certain that from the latter the estate at Burton near Stafford passed to the Whitgreaves, and accordingly Walter Chetwynd ("Pirehill Hundred" MS. transcript, p. 195) says that Robert Whitgreave purchased amongst other estates the greatest part of Burton near Stafford, which he left at his death, in 27 H. VI., to Humfrey his son and heir. Subsequently in the inquisition on the death of T. Rugeley, 6 E. VI., he was found to have held Ricardescote from Humfrey Whitgreave.

Fortunately, in the absence of other evidence, much information respecting important members of the large Manor of Castre during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries may be gathered from the inquisitions at the deaths of the several owners, of which abstracts are in the Salt Library. These members we find for the greater part termed manors themselves in documents subsequent to the Reformation.

I select the principal notices :—

Thus by an inquisition taken at the death of Hugh Stafford, Knight, *temp.* H. VI., *m.* 33, he left to his cousin and heir Humfrey Earl of Stafford, with other property in Stafford and its vicinity, the “Port Milles in Forebrigge;” and by inquisition *p.m.* dated 36 H. VIII., *m.* 168, A.D. 1345, Richard Harecourt, Esq., was found to have held lands at Billington, Dunston, Ricardescote, and Burton. The first two he held from Lord Stafford and Ursula his wife; that at Ricardescote, consisting of a messuage and tenements with the appurtenances, from Thomas Salte, by fealty only, valued 10s.; whilst that at Burton, consisting of a messuage and land and tenements, appearing worth 16s., he had held also, by fealty only, from Richard Palmer. Thus notwithstanding previous alienations by the Palmers, we find them here and elsewhere regarded as having a paramount title, although with almost nominal renders; and yet still these renders, until the final abolition of tenure in chivalry, were a reservation which, the occasion arising, might be found of substantial importance, but would sometimes be forgotten or ignored. Mary, wife of William Viscount Stafford, who was heiress in her own right, evinced no disposition in such respect to give way with respect to the Honors of Thornbury and Oldbury in the county of Gloucester. See her complaint of Hicks, addressed to the Commissioners in the Royalist Compositions (Salt Abstract, Vol. VI., p. 133).

Thomas Stamford died on the 13th January, in the 23 H. VIII., A.D. 1532. At his death William his son, aged thirty-one, became his heir. On the inquisition *p.m.* (34 H. VIII., 32, A.D. 1543) his property is described as one messuage, three cottages, three gardens, sixty acres of land, three hundred of pasture, forty of pasture, and forty of meadow, with the appurtenances, situate respectively at Rowley near Stafford, at fforbridge, at Burton near Stafford, at Ricarscott, and at Plardewyk. In Stafford borough he had six burgages with the appurtenances, held from the Chapel of the King in Stafford, and worth £9; at fforagate Stafford and fforagate Fields; at Tillington, and Coton near Stafford, six cottages, six gardens, fifty

acres of land twenty acres of pasture, forty acres of meadow, with the appurtenances. The messuage, a cottage, garden land, pasture and meadow aforesaid at Rowley and fforbridge he held from Henry Stafford and Ursula his wife in soccage, worth £11. The land at Burton and Ricarscote he held from Richard Pálmer in soccage, value 50s.; the land at Plardewick he held from the Prior of Shene in soccage, value 16s.; that at Tillington he held from Henry Stafford and his wife Ursula in soccage, value 17s. 4*d.*; whilst the land in fforegate Stafford, fforegate Field and Coton, he held from the Prior of Shene in soccage, value 62s.

Thomas held also from the Queen the Harvey Prebend of the lately dissolved foundation of the Collegiate Church of Stafford, which had long belonged to it, as above.

Thomas held also at Denson (Denston) a messuage and land of Elizabeth Row, and other tenements there, in the holding of Thomas Madeley, &c.

Thomas held also divers houses and edifices at Shrewsbury, with gardens, as from the bailiffs of the aforesaid vill in burgage.

William Stanford, Knight, who died in the first year of Edward VI., A.D. 1547, and who held land and manors at Handsworth and at Perry Barr, is not mentioned in the inquisition taken at his death to have held any of the Castle-church lands mentioned in that of Thomas Stanford. But William Stanford, Esq., who died on the 29th of June in the 12 Elizabeth, A.D. 1571, leaving another William son of Edward Stanford his cousin and heir, is mentioned to hold not only lands at Great Sardon, from Simon Harcourt, Esq., as of his Manor of Great Sardon, and burgages in Stafford from the bailiffs in free burgage by fealty only, and Packington Manor from Lord Paget and Handsworth from Robert Stanford as of his manor there, but also the Manor of Rowley and two messuages and lands in fforbridge and at "Risom" (Rising) Brook and Tillington, all from Lord Stafford; also messuages and lands at Burton and Riearseote, and also from the Dean and Free Chapel of Wolverhampton, as of their manor a messuage and land at Hatherton by fealty only.

Robert Whitegreve, Esq., died 30th December; an inquisition *p.m.* of the 23rd September following, 5 E. VI., A.D. 1552, found his heir to be Humphrey his son, aged twenty-four years. In addition to the Manor of Great Bridgeford, the two water mills and the land there, as well as Foregate and Over Rule and other possessions in Bradeley, Ronton, and Gnosall, Robert had held a capital messuage tenement and other premises in Burton near Stafford from

Randle Palmer of Burton as of his Manor of Burton by fealty and a rent of $4\frac{1}{4}d.$; also in the same Burton, eight acres of land, twenty acres of meadow, forty acres of pasture, and ten acres moor with the appurtenances of the same capital messuage; also two tenements in the several holdings of Robert Spoks and William Goldsmith; also forty acres of land, ten acres of meadow, and thirty acres of pasture with the appurtenances of the same tenements, and the same capital messuage and other premises to the same belonging, and the meadow called the Willas Dole, valued £6; also the aforesaid tenements in the holding of Robert Spoks and William Goldsmith, valued at 40s.

The Deanery of Stafford was granted to Henry Lord Stafford 4th April, 4 E. VI., never having before been, I think, any possession of his family. Its site, demesne, and other parts had on the 19th May, 2 E. VI., been leased to Sir Randle Bagnal, Knight (Harl. MS. 601, fo. 1; Gough MS. in the Bodleian, see Salt transcript, p. 118). But in the year first mentioned it was Lord Stafford who sold, and a Henry Polsted who released them to John Maynard. Forty acres, part of them, were in Castle Parish, but with the Church had from a remote date belonged to the endowment of the Deanery of St. Mary's, Stafford (*ibidem*, and *supra*, p. 21). These acres still preserve, although divided, the names of Dean's Hill, Dean's Meadow, and Dean's Croft, as they were named in the description having Lord Henry's name subscribed amongst the Records of the Augmentation Office (Gough MS. and *supra*). [Appendix I.] The transaction was perhaps an exchange, the Crown receiving back the Manor of Essington in Holderness, previously granted to the attainted Duke's son by patent of the 23 H. VIII., for which see Appendix. Later it was re-granted to him and his wife. [I.]

John Maynard, Esq., died on the 6th November, 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, A.D. 1558, and left daughters as co-heiresses, viz., Frances aged eighteen, Elizabeth seventeen, and Susan thirteen years of age. The inquisition *p.m.* recites his will, from which it appeared that he had held the Deanery of the late College or Collegiate Church, with the appurtenances, and all the messuages, lands and tenements and other premises to the same pertaining, *in capite* from the King and Queen, by the service of the fortieth part of a knight's fee, worth £42. [G.]

Elizabeth Sparry died on the 5th August, 24 Elizabeth, A.D. 1582, leaving William Sparry her son and heir at the age of twenty. The inheritance comprised amongst other things the Deanery of

Stafford, and a capital messuage and garden adjacent, formerly in the tenure of Robert Cotterell, Dean, formerly belonging to the Deanery, also the Dean's Field, the Dean's Meadows, The Dean's Croft, formerly in the holding of William Stanford, gentleman, and situate in Castle Parish and . . . ; the arable land in Hopton (?), called the Deanery, once also called the One Hundred Acres; and all the lands, meadow, and pasture in Whitgreave, once in the tenure of Robert Harcourt, gentleman, and called the Deanery, once belonging to the Deanery; the great tithes of hay, and lambs, swine, and other tithes. . . and (those) in the Parish of Castle Church of St. Mary in Stafford, belonging to the said Deanery; 16s. 8d. rent in Whitgreave; 2s. frith fees from the inhabitants of Whitegreave, held *in capite*, and as the third part of a knight's fee; finally it is added that Forbridge, Burton, Ricarscote, Hopton, Tillington, Creswell, Ingestre, and Tixall, hold the aforesaid extent.

Again, Edward Stanford, gentleman, died 24th May, 40 Elizabeth, and left his son William at the age of twenty-five his heir. The said Edward had one messuage and one close, lately belonging to Stone Priory; one croft called the Friars' Orchard, the Friars' Field, and a meadow and tithes of grain and hay thence accruing; also the site of the St. Augustin Friars of Stafford, *in capite*, as the twentieth part of a knight's fee.

Finally, Robert Stanford, Knight, died on the 20th March, 4 James I., and left his son Edward his heir, aged forty. In addition to the manors and lands at Handsworth and Perry Bank, and Packington above mentioned, the inquisition at his death found Robert to have held the Manor of Rowley with appurtenances, also the property, once the Augustine Friars', before mentioned, with the whole of the cemetery, from the King *in capite*, as the one hundredth part of a knight's fee.

When William Cradock, Esq., died, in the 1st James, A.D. 1603, leaving Thomas his son and heir aged twenty-three, the inquisition *p.m.* describes part of the inheritance as having been in Burton, Ricarscote, and fforbridge, and to have included eight-ninths of the Deanery of Stafford.

FOREBRIDGE.

Dr. Wilkes, more than a hundred and forty years ago, wrote: "On the south side of the river, immediately as soon as you are over the bridge, is a village called Forebridge, and the Green, in the Castle Parish. This place has been famous for the great benefactions

it received from the noble family of the Staffords. Here was a religious house belonging to the Friars Minors,¹ founded by one of this family, as also an hospital for sick poor people, though now they are both demolished. The inhabitants of this place, on the 24th of December, do each of them receive 4*d.* yearly from the constable to buy them a plum pudding on Christmas Day."

We find some ancient evidences concerning this "Forburg" of Stafford, which is also a member of the Manor of the Castle. [G.]

By fine passed 17 E. I. (1289), the complainant, Ralph le Tenturyr de Stafford, received by the gift of Richard de Lutteleye and Alice his wife two messuages, fourteen acres of land, and one-and-a-half acre of meadow in Forburgg by Stafford. Ralph was to render to Richard de Lutteleye and Alice his wife a rose yearly for all accustomed services, and, as the fine, one sore sparrow-hawk was given to him.

. . . Smith had a grant in Forebridge from King Edward VI. (see Proceedings in Chancery Record Publications, Eliz. Reginae, sed incerti anni, p. 182). The Proceedings in Chancery, *temp.* Eliz., p. 182, contain a record of a suit without its issue by Edward Lees against John Bamford, Humfrey Woodall, and others, in which Lees claimed cottages and land in Forebridge near Stafford demised to him and to others by Henry Lord Stafford, Ursula his wife, and Henry their son.

From an early deed in the Winnington Collection, abstracted by Mr. Hamper in 1813, it would seem that Richard de Lega left a daughter Agnes, with her two daughters Alice and Agnes, entitled to two houses and appurtenances in Forebrugge by Stafford. One house had formerly belonged to William de Kersewell, and the other house had been the share (fourth it is called) of Sibyl, once wife of William Coupelont, Clerk, and a second share Sibyl's sister Petronilla had been enfeoffed of by a deed of Alicia's. And then it is added, that Thomas Buselard had an equal share in the last mentioned house. The house or houses are said to be situate between the house and curtilages of Adam de Stapeleye and the house and curtilage which Marey Eremete formerly held, extending in length and breadth from the King's highway (*a regali via*), leading from the vill of Stafford in the direction of the Lepers'

¹ The Friars Minors was a foundation of the Staffords, but in the liberties of the town itself, *i.e.*, in the Foregate. Dr. Wilkes means in the above passage to refer to the Austin Friars, who had a hospital in the manor close to the south of the town, of which hereafter. It was also a Staffordshire foundation.

House of Rotford (Radford), as far as the land of the Hospital house of St. John the Baptist which lies near the bridge of Stafford. Agnes with her two daughters transfer their interest to Adam Arnekock of Betley and to his wife Sibyl. The history of the property is carried on by a second deed. [M.]

From the same abstract as follows: 2 E. II. By deed dated at Forebrug the Sunday next after the Invention of Holy Cross, Adam Arnekoc of Bettilegh of Forebrug and Sibill his wife grant Richard son of Hugh le Bulkere of Ruggeleye and Margery his wife a messuage with garden, etc., in Forebrugge, lying as above. Consideration, eleven marks and a half. *Hijs testibus*: Robto Monys de Ricardescote. Rico le palm de Bourton, Rico Tinctore de Forebrugge, Rico fil Henr. Kyri de Ricardescote, Willo de Frodeswalle, Willo de Wrtaston (?), Rico de Bourton, elico, et aliis. (First seal gone, second oval of green wax, a star, and around it . . . "SIBILLA . VKSOR . AD 'ARNNC . . .") [M.]

From the same abstract the following: 11 E. II., by deed dated at Stafford the Saturday after St. Peter and St. Paul, William the Sumenur of Stafford grants to Sir Roger Trumwyn, Knight, and to Lady Joan his wife a pleck of land with house thereupon in Forebrugge, between his own land and the land of Hugh the Miller, in breadth and in length from the King's highway leading from Stafford towards Pencerich to the land of William the son of John the Weaver (Textoris?). *Hijs testibus*: Johe de Wenlok, Rogero de Titnesover, Johe de Pykestok, Willo de Waley, Rico Godfrey de Bilynton, Rico le Heuster de Stafford, Roberto le Rotur, et aliis. The aforesaid Sir Roger Trumwyn, Knight, was twice Sheriff of Staffordshire (he was succeeded by his son Roger, whose inquisition *p.m.*, 36 E. III., shows the son left no heirs male; see the first Roger's wife Joan in the Trumwyn Pedigrees, "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. I., p. 340 (Table).

Other families who have marked in the early annals of the borough as well as of the barony are connected with Forbridge. Amongst which are entitled to a conspicuous place the earliest tenants *in capite* of the King's Pool, *i.e.*, Wymar, Stafford, and perhaps Rugeley, as also in respect of residence and property there those of Chetwynd and Drakeford; although I have not been able to fix the precise spots. The Green Hall from its position and adjacent grounds is likely to have been occupied by such personages, and as we know that it once belonged to Richard Drakeford, we may without improbability suppose it also to occupy a site once

Wymar's. The Stafford rentals mark some of the inhabitants of Forbridge at early dates. (Appendix P.) The Subsidy Rolls mark others. *Supra*, pp. 24, 25 ; see also others, *infra*, pp. 49, 50.

The Houghs also appear at an early date also as estates in Forebridge ; there appear to have been two of them.

"About half way between the Green and the Penk," says Mr. Loxdale, are the Houghs, called so long ago, but some have said first recorded in an inquisition *p.m.* of the reign of Edward III., where they are spoken of as part of the lands whereof Ralph de Stafford died seised." [I.] But I add that previously by fine passed in the 27th year of Edward I. (1299), John de Wenlok demanded one virgate of land and five acres of meadows in "Le Halugh" by Stafford, from Richard son of Henry Wymer de Motton and Isolda his wife, who remised them to John de Wenlok on receiving from him £20. They will be found alluded to in the Rental of Edward Lord Stafford in the Appendix, as tenanted in the seventeenth century by Robert Talbot, who had the nearer Hough, and . . . Dorrington, who had the further Hough, and he held with it the Spittle Meadow. At a later period, *i.e.*, on the 24th July, 1775, the Aldermen and Common Council ordered that Mr. Dickenson should have a lease for twenty-one years of all those lands, barns, and premises, with all the appurtenances at the Hough, late held by Mrs. Godwin, and leased, etc. ; then rented at £5, but worth, in 1759, £30.

In the early part of the reign of Henry III., Ralph de Marisco is defendant in a suit in which Adam de Stafford is plaintiff, and in another Robert de Marisco sues Ralph Wymer about a fishpond in Forbridge. Not only the Marsh but those who held it as tenants seem to have been of some importance, for the great cartulary of the Staffords now at Bithfield often refers to them ; I follow its form at p. 271 in the following abstracts :—

COM. STAFFORDE (MARSHE).

9 E. II., at
Stafford
(under seal). Tho. de Pipe grants to Henry de Marisco and Margery his wife and heirs all the lands and tenements in Le Mershe near Stafforde which the said Thomas held of the feoffment of the said Henry, with the reversion of all lands and tenements in the possession of tenants for life, to hold of the Lords of the Fee. Witnesses, Ernano de Chetwynd, Jo. de Pikstoke, Will de Cauvreswale, John le Foxe, Rich. Seafrey, and others.

9 E. II., at
Stafford
(sealed). Thomas de Pipe constitutes Robert de Pipe his attorney to put Henry de Marisco and Margery his wife in full possession and seisin of his lands in the Mershe near Stafford, which Henry and Margery had enfeoffed Thomas with.

24 E. III.
(sealed),
apud le
Mershe. John son of Henry del Mershe near Stafford releases to Lord Ralph, Barn. of Stafford, etc., all his right of claim, omnibus terris et tenementis, pratis, moris et pasturis cum pertinentibus in le Mershe juxta Stafford.
Warranty.

Witnesses, Lord Rich. de Holton and Thomas de Hauilaughton, Knights, Rob. de Knyghtley, Will. de Wollesley, Robert le Bonde, and others.

22 E. III.
(sealed). A tous ceux, etc., Richard de Stafforde, Chivaler, Salutz en Dieu (this French instrument refers to an exchange made by him with Raufe Baron de Stafforde, Lord of Tunbrugge, and his lady companion Margaret of his, the said Richard's, estate, etc. (*inter alia*), in le Marshe near Stafforde in the county of Stafford, for other estates of Baron Stafford in the co. of Gloucester.)

4 H. IV., at
Stafford. Edmond Earl of Stafford grants to Garston de Stafforde and Isabella his wife a messuage with appurtenances in Stafforde, which formerly belonged to Nicholas Beck Knight, between the tenement of Simon Goldsmith on one side, and a tenement of John Lichfield on the other side; also grants to the aforesaid John a pasture called the Mershe, with appurtenances, near Stafford, et Robam de Secte Armigerorum Nostrorum annually for the term of his life. *Warranty, &c.*

Witnesses, Robert Mauvesin, Thomas de Aston, Knight, Jo. de Willaston (Wollaston), Jo. de Aston, John . . . Hugo Stanford, and others.

SILKMORE.

We find by the Close Rolls 14 H. III., *m.* 8, that Nicholas le Urs (the bear) was sued by Alice, relict of Hugh de Dokesye, concerning the custody of land once the said Hugh's in Silkemor, Gretwood, and Cattel (? Castel); and by the Close Roll of the same year, *m.* 3, in *dorso*, dated Nantes, 18th September, it appears that Nicholas called to warranty Harvey de Stafford, at the time in the King's service beyond seas. All that appears is that the affair was owing to his absence in respite. In 1255, Hugh de Dokesay granted two crofts in Selkemer to Walter, Master of St. Lazarus

of Retford (Radford). ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. IV., part I., pp. 246-7.) Thomas de Halughton has free warren in Dokesay, Silkmore, and Gretwood in 9 Edward III. by Royal Charter (*m.* 55). By final concord, 31 E. I., 1303, Richard de Dokeseye and Margaret his wife took by the grant of Robert de Halughton the Manor of Dokeseye and four score and three acres of land, twenty-six acres of meadow, two of wood, and eight acres of underwood in *Selkemor*, Gretwode, Bradelegh, and Welaston (Wollaston); the said Richard to hold of the said Robert, rendering a rose yearly, and performing for him to the lords of the fee the services appertaining thereto; but if Richard and his wife died without heirs the premises were to revert to the said Robert.

In 7 R. II. the Convent of St. Thomas the Martyr near Stafford had the King's licence to purchase twenty-seven messuages and tenements, etc., in Ambrichton, Lee, Newton, Coton Walton, *Selkmore*, Salt, and Haniate, with sundry burgages in the towns of Stafford and Lichfield, and divers lands and tenements in Stafford and Marston, part of the Manor of Marston which had been transferred from the alien Priory of Lapley to the Priory of Shene. (Salt MS. 40, p. 222.) The following notices illustrate this subject: In 1773, were for sale amongst other things the following, Silkmore Farm, a farmhouse, etc., with seventy-four acres of arable pasture and meadow land contiguous; also part of Stych fields and barn, with fifteen and a half acres, and a meadow of three acres called Stockings, and other parts of thirteen and four acres respectively; also an acre and a half near Rickerscoat, being a dole in a meadow called Copnall meadow. Silkmore was stated to be a manor, with a sole and separate right of fishery in a backwater running from the River Penk.

In 1855 were for sale an acre three rods and twelve perches called the Daisybank, on the Lichfield Road, then in occupation of Mr. Nathan Smith.

In 1859 were for sale a capital messuage on the Green, formerly occupied by J. H. Halton, Esq., with a garden from Green Walk to Friars' Walk, and a messuage in occupation of Mr. Edmund Whalley, also nine cottages adjoining, in occupation of Mr. R. Mountford.

RICKERSCOTE.

Rickerscote is the Ricardescote of Domesday Book, where it is added to the berewicks of Bradeley, and is said to be held of Robert

de Stafford by another Robert for half a knight's fee; there was land for four ploughs, one in demesne, with three villeins and three boors, with one carrucate and two acres of meadow. It had belonged to Earl Edwin, and was valued at 20s. (See also "Staffordshire Historical Collections," Vol. II., p. 180.) Later, Roger Vigil had given, and Harvey de Stafford (1217-37) had confirmed to the Convent of Stone a piece of land in Rickardscote called Wumrichscroft, with half the meadow called Fulsich (*ibid.*, p. 275). It appears also from the Register of Kenilworth (Dugdale's "Warwickshire," p. 157), that half a yard of land in Ricardescote was given to the Priory of Kenilworth by Richard de Bereford and his wife Cecily, the daughter of Roger le Waite, as also by Ralph de St. Edmund. Roger appears to have had a brother Simon, who held a croft in the seemingly adjoining township of Berton (Burton), for by a fine (1197) the tenant Simon de Burton acknowledged the croft and thirty acres and a virgate of land in Berton to be the land of Roger le Waite. (See Vol. IV., "Staffordshire Historical Collections," pp. 260-1.)

The Vigils or Waites continued for some time in Staffordshire. (See the "Historical Collections for the County," *supra*; also Vol. III., pp. 32-3; Vol. IV., pp. 260-1.) They held (we have seen) half a knight's fee at Rickerscote, and from entries in the volumes last mentioned also land at a place written Berton, which might be clearly taken for Burton next to Rickerscote, but that there were Burtons in Warwickshire, one of which is not unlikely to be the place in question, as it belonged also to the fief of the Staffords. (Dugdale's "Warwickshire," p. 450 *b.*)

It appears from the Inspeximus of R. Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and the confirmation by Pope Celestinus (whether Celestinus III. (1191-8) or IV. (1241-3) of the name does not appear), that Reginald Gawle had bestowed upon the Fraternity of St. Thomas' Priory near Stafford a meadow in Ricardescote, called the Brocage. (See the Inspeximus cited by Walter Chetwynd in his "Pirehill Hundred;" a transcript is in the Salt MS. 40, p. 215.) As the dissolution of the Monasteries and the subsequent dealings with them diverted many ecclesiastical lands from the normal succession, and as family settlements of the Staffords had diverted others of the mesne estates, the difficulty of tracing these parcels of their manor is increased. However, we find in the great Duke Humfrey's inquisition *p.m.*, 38 and 39 H. VI., that the half fee of Ricardescote was held from him by Humfrey Stafford,

and this is confirmed by the latter's inquisition *p.m.* in the first year of E. IV. This Stafford was of the line of Hooke. No wonder then that in Edward the last Duke's escheat, *infra*, there is no entry of the fee of Rickerscote, but on the 5th October, 36 H. VIII., by inquisition *p.m.* of Richard Harcourt, Esq., the said Richard Harcourt was found to have held at Billington, Burton, Dunston and Ricardescote, four messuages, three hundred acres of land, and one hundred acres of pasture, ten acres of wood, and 15*d.* rent, with the appurtenances; also at Billington and Dunston, a messuage and land, with the appurtenances, from the Lord Stafford (Henry, restored Baron, son of the attainted Duke), by fealty and a rent of 3*s.* 11*d.*, also at Ricardescote a messuage, land, and tenements, with the appurtenances, from Thomas Salt, by fealty only, worth 10*s.*, also at Burton a messuage, land, and tenement, with the appurtenances, from Richard Palmer, by fealty only, worth 16*s.* What had occurred with the fee in the interval I have not been able to ascertain.

In the Great Cartulary at Blithfield, at pp. 12 and 112 respectively, are the two following abstracts, of which at least one contains an inaccuracy; no witnesses' names are subscribed. But they are nevertheless apparently documents which illustrate the Erdeswick claim to Stafford property in Cuddleston and Totmanslow Hundred, and bear upon the subject of the conflicting rights of different branches of the family of Stafford of Bramshall (*supra*, pp. 35, 36). [Y.] Following the form of that Cartulary, I extract as follows:—

31 E. III., Thomas de Erdeswick releases to Hugh and Henry
sealed deed. de Dorley all his "jus" or claim in the manor of
Rickerscote, etc., which John de Stafford "hade" of the gift of feoffment of William de Stafford, Knight, his Lord, which descended to the said Humfrey (*sic*), in Crakemarsh, Strongeshul.¹ (*Transcript of a sealed copy.*)

P. 12, Thomas Erdeswicke releases, etc., for himself and
15 E. III., at heirs for ever to John Wade, Parson of the Church
Stafford. of Lyche? and Henry de Dorley all his right and claim to the manor of Rickerscote, rents, etc., and which John de Stafford had of the gift or feoffment of William de Stafford,

¹ The Huntbach MS. (Salt Collection) has also "Humfrey," without distinguishing him. He was probably Humfrey called "with the silver hand." Both extracts evidently came from the same original.

Knight, his Lord, and which descended to the said Humfrey (*sic*) in Crakemershe, Bylinton, Ricardescote, Dunston, Dulverne, and Fosbroke, excepting the service of Petre of Caverswell Park.

What follows here from the Patent Rolls and the Great Cartulary shows more of the early inhabitants of the vicinity, and has been referred to *supra* at p. 44.

William de Levedale sued the Prior of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist and others by a writ of novel disseisin touching tenements in Stafford. The same William sued Hawisia widow of William Raulet touching tenements in Forbrugg. These two suits were of the same year, 17 E. III. (1343-4). See patent of the same year, *m.* 16, *dorso*.

From the Blithfield Cartulary again we have, at p. 131, the two following charters, of which one by its date, "apud castrum Stafford," reminds us of the early charter said by Erdeswick to be in his own then possession. The form again of the entry is as follows:—

COM. STAFFORDIE, FFORBRIDGE, 233.

32 E. I., dated "apud castrum Stafford."	Edmund de Stafford and Margareta uxor, grant to William de ffrodswall for his life a certain place called the Grene in fforbridge near Stafford, lying between the high road from Stafford to Retford, in breadth 100 feet, in length extending from the land of Robert Morys and the land of John le Marshall of Stafford, 200 feet towards the land and the grange once Randle . . . innos de fforesta (<i>sic</i>).
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7 E. II., at ffore- bridge.	William son of Robert Petronell de Castro Stafford grants to his son Nicholas f . . . manentes in fforbridge juxta Stafford.
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In the adjoining parish of Acton Trussell is a monument in the Church, of date long subsequent, with a Latin inscription, to the memory of "Richard Nevil of Ricerscoat, gentleman," claiming for him the merit of patriotism and attachment to the Church of England at a time when dissensions were rife. It mentions his having married Eleanor, youngest daughter of Richard Drakeford of Forebridge, gentleman, by whom he had no issue, and that he was born 1st March, 1647, and died on the 1st January, 1728.

ROWLEY.

The place name Rowley, or its phonetic equivalent, may be said also to be one that has led topographical writers into difficulty; for not only does Staffordshire possess the Royal Manor of Rowley Regis, but its parishes of Haughton and Bradeley have their Rule or Reule (written by Erdeswick as Rowley), and Stafford itself has its more closely neighbouring manor of Rowley, once belonging to the Stamfords, and in part also to the Austin Friars of the foundation of the Earls Stafford, which ancient site from the seventeenth century has formed part of the estate of the Free Grammar School of Stafford. [L.]

The older etymologists assign to the word Rowley the meaning of the "Regal Sepulchre," which seems an eccentric confusion of sources not likely to pass muster at the present day, and not to have historical support. No doubt the final syllable has often been confounded with "Low." [E.] Be this here, however, as it may, as to this place itself it is possible it may have been the subject of dispute in an assize of novel disseisin arraigned by Richard de Roulowe against Peter the Prior of St. John's near Stafford and Henry le Fevre, concerning tenements in Roulowe. (Vol. II., p. 73; of "Abstracts of Patent Rolls" in the Salt Library of the 5 E. I., m. 9, *in dorso*. See also *ibidem*, p. 79). Again by a final concord of the 34th year of Edward I., Roger Fraunces and Margery his wife had by grant from Stephen fitz Nicholas de Sondon and Edith his wife, one messuage, one toft, twenty acres and half a virgate of land in Salt and Rugelowe by Stafford (Rowley?), which belonged to the said Edith, to hold of Stephen and his wife Edith, rendering a rose yearly, and performing to the chief lord of the fee for them, the said Stephen and Edith, the services appertaining to the fee; but if the said Roger died without issue by the said Margery, then the fee was to revert to the grantors. Later is found a possible dealing with the same manor on the part of King James I., who, 10th November, 1610, granted to Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh his reversion in Rowley Park, with all its messuages, lands, etc., as part of the £120 per annum granted to the Earl of Bedford, 10th February, 1609. ("Calendars of State Papers," Dom. Series, *ad annum*, p. 642.) So in the same volume at p. 404, it was previously said that the benefit of the recusancy of John Berington of Rowley was granted with that of J. Wells of Hoarcross and Eleanor Emsworth of Abbot's

Bromley to William Hunt and Henry Heau. Who Berington was see "Erdeswick," by Harwood, p. 175 and note there.

Degge says, Edward son of Sir Robert Stamford sold Rowley to Sir Richard Berrington, who married Edward's sister, and was father of John Berrington, who owned it in 1665; *apud* "Erdeswick," by Harwood, in note at p. 448; and see "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. V., p. 260.

Mr. Harwood strangely mistakes (p. 175) Erdeswick, who did not, as Mr. Harwood has done, confound the Rowley to which he referred with any other place of similar name, but had in his mind and his text only the hamlet (variously written as Rowelege, Reule, Rule) which is in the extreme westerly part of the parish of Bradeley, not far from Haughton, and is by no means the Rowley near Stafford. The latter had really, as the commentator truly says, belonged to a religious house in Stafford, and William Stanford, Esq., and after him Sir Robert Stanford became its owners, and the latter's son Edward sold it to Richard Berrington, who married his daughter, and had issue John, who enjoyed it in 1660. The inquisitions referring to the Stanfords have been given above. From the inquisition held on the death of Richard Berrington, who died on the 16th February, 9th of James I., it appears that the succession of John his son consisted of the Manor of Rowley juxta Stafford, one messuage, sixty-six acres of land, forty-three of meadow, sixty-four of pasture, ten of wood, and 60s. rent and the site of the Monastery of the Austin Friars, with great titles of hay, calves, lambs, pigs, and wool, etc., as tenant *in capite* of the fortieth part of a knight's fee.

In the "Royal Composition Papers," 2nd Series, Vol. XLIII., p. 74, on the 11th June, 1649, we find the following as to the Stafford possessions: "The Marquis of Dorchester and the Earl of Kingston petitioned the Commissioners of Composition for leave to be admitted to a reasonable composition for two parts of certain estates purchased by them from the Right Hon. William Lord Viscount Stafford. It was stated to consist of:—

The Manor of flforbridge with the appurtenances and all other the lands, mylls, and tythes of the said Lord Viscount Stafford situate and being in Castle Church and Bradeley, and in the borough of Stafford or elsewhere in the said county of Stafford, two parts whereof remayne under sequestration for the recusancy only of the said Lord Viscount Stafford.

The estate and its value are particularized as follows:—

Imprimis ye Mannor of fforbridge with ye demesnes in the parish of Castle Church and St. Nicholas, were of the yearly value	£	s.	d.
before <i>these</i> times of	250	0	0
All the residue of the lands, tenements, tythes, mylls, and hereditaments in Bradeley and the borough of Stafford, and elsewhere in the co. of Stafford	160	0	0
The two third parts to be compounded for			
amount to.	273	6	8

It must be observed, however, upon this subject, that afterwards on the 18th May, 1653, Captain Peter Backhouse petitioned for a re-sequestration of the above on the grounds of Lord Dorchester's delay in making good his statements, and that he, Backhouse, as a discoverer of a concealment, had entitled himself to a surplus, A.D. 1657. The details appear in the "Salt Abstracts of Royal Compositions," Vol. VI., p. 295. The Stafford Manors of Thornbury and Oldbury, co. Gloucester, had been also taken for recusancy only, and the property dealt with (*ibid.*, at p. 115). The trustees and Lady Stafford bitterly complain of the injury done to the latter manors by waste, cutting of timber for improper purposes, and neglect to enforce manorial right. The Commissioners for the Commonwealth seem to have deemed it necessary to explain that without express word the lessees had no right to interfere with the manors, castles, gardens, orchards, or royalties. I have met with no corresponding statement as to waste of the estate at Stafford.

Abstracts of the above are also in the transcript of the Staffordshire "Royal Composition Papers" in the William Salt Library, Vol. VI., p. 457.

THE FEUDAL BARONS OF THE FIRST RACE.

M. Prevost in a note to an edition of Ordericus Vitalis' "Ecclesiastical History," to which M. Guizot gave the sanction of his name (Book V., c. 9), informs us that Hugh, forty-first Bishop of Rouen (A.D. 942–989), a prelate of illustrious birth (he was in fact nearly related to Rollo), gave an estate called Toëni (it had been an episcopal domain) to his brother Ralph, who thus became

founder of the family of Toëni and Conches in Normandy, and that (afterwards called) of Stafford in England.

In Normandy the Toneis were mixed up with the turbulent events that characterise the annals of its dukes. One of these chiefs, Roger de Tonei, senior, as well as his son Ralph, are spoken of as hereditary standard bearers of Normandy; both had distinguished themselves in Spain; the father had even been styled "d'Espagne" in consequence. (Orderic, *ubi supra*, note of M. Prevost.) Ralph was so conspicuous a political character, that even his physician Goisbert finds frequent mention in the narrative, wherein the Anglo-Norman historian informs us that Ralph had taken him with him to England, and through him had granted to the Monks of St. Evroult in Normandy two estates in England, one named Caldecot in Norfolk, and the other Alvington in Worcestershire. Indeed historian and physician became eventually both monks in that abbey. Ralph was elder brother to Robert de Tonëi, afterwards called of Stafford. Such is the conclusion of Mr. Eyton ("Staffordshire Historical Collections," Vol. II., pp. 254-5). Ralph was evidently the brother the more distinctly marked in the page of history, where in England he appears as owner of Flamstead and Clifford Castles, and occupies a more important place in continental chronicles, where family alliances connected him with the great houses of Fitz-Osborne, of Montfort, of Evreux, of Mellent, and of Boulogne; the marriage too of his daughter Godchilde to Baldwin son of Count Eustace led to a throne, and seems the first link that connected the family with the Crusades, and may have been the cause, although Robert de Tonei's previous attachment to Duke Robert may have been another, that in carrying Robert de Stafford to the East led to the extinction of the first race of males.

The value of Orderic's testimony depends upon his means of information, as well as upon his honesty as an historian; it is for this reason that I have mentioned Ralph's physician, Goisbert, afterwards long resident with the historian as fellow monk within the same monastery. For thus it seems impossible that the Anglo-Norman historian who was collecting details, should not have made himself well informed as to Norman doings in England, and especially as to those of the de Toneis.

Robert, whom the Domesday Commissioners called "de Stafford," and who himself or his immediate successors on receiving from his Sovereign and Relative numerous fees in and near Stafford and

elsewhere, adopted it as their family name, was thus a younger son of a great Norman house.¹

According to Ordericus 4th book, ch. 1, after the submission of the great English earls, King William made a progress through his kingdom, establishing military arrangements for the maintenance of public order. He gave the custody of castles to some of his bravest Normans, distributing among them vast possessions as inducements to undergo cheerfully their defence. The English had very few fortresses which the Normans would have termed castles, but the King carefully surveying, we are told, the parts least accessible, selected suitable spots to be fortified against his restless foes. One castle he built at Warwick, another at Nottingham, and after the downfall of the Mercian Earls another at Stafford, which had been destroyed by the insurgents previously to Domesday Book, for it mentions the fact. This castle, it would seem, the King had entrusted to Robert Tonei, who thereupon, according to Dugdale, assumed the territorial name. About the same time, after having dispersed the insurgents at Stafford and further west, the King also erected castles at Chester and Shrewsbury.

Robert de Stadford held nothing in the county that had not belonged to Earl Edwin, but he did not hold all that did so; neither, although his holding in the borough of Stafford was very considerable, did he hold all the Earl's holding there.

Of forty-four mansures in Stadford which we find in the great census belonging to the honor of the Earl, only thirteen were given to Robert; the King retained twenty-two himself (of the latter five were then waste), and the King also gave five pertaining to Worfield, and four pertaining to Penn to Hugh de Montgomery and to William fitz Ansculf respectively.

But by these donations the King-Duke did not exhaust all at his disposal. In the borough was much not comital, let alone the portion which remained, as in Saxon times, the property of the Church; of these, fourteen mansures devolved upon the See of Chester, five upon the Abbey of Burton, fourteen went to the priests of the borough of Stafford, of which thirteen must have gone to the Prebendaries of the Royal Collegiate Church; then the King had besides eighteen burgages and eight mansures which the

¹ Loxdale cites Sandford, p. 445, for the fact that Robert had been Steward of the Household to King Edward the Confessor. (Loxdale MS. in Salt Library, F. 28.) Does he not confuse him with Ralph Earl Steward to E. III. ?

Book of Domesday tells us remained unoccupied (*vastas*). [D. B., p. 246.]

But although thus of the comital manors, Robert de Stafford had hardly more than a third, he had in his share within the borough, what was styled "of his own fee," forty-one mansures, nearly as many as all those of the comital estate put together. Whatever may be the relation in which Robert thus stood in power to the other tenants *in capite* in Staffordshire, and whatever may have been the relative extent or value of Robert de Stafford's estates elsewhere, in the neighbourhood of Stafford itself they were without rival. Not only were his fees divided from that town on the south only by the River Sow, but they extended, with the exception of the break occasioned by the King's Pool, on its other side, so as to completely encircle the burgh from Tillington on the west, to presumably a member of the Bishop of Lichfield's manor of Haywood on the east, where a part, afterwards the site of St. Thomas the Martyr's Priory, appeared a century later to have been relinquished by a Gerard de Stafford (thought, probably erroneously, by some to have been of the baronial family, and co-founder with Bishop Peche of the said Priory).

But the proprietorship of the Staffords in this centre was not limited to that extensive and almost perfect circumference; in the town itself Domesday Book marks Robert as holder of the aforesaid thirteen mansures, and on the south and west sides, even the strips of meadow land that intervened between the walls and town gates were soon afterwards found in the possession of the family, and claimed as belonging to their Manor of Stafford. Nor was this all, for although the Domesday Commissioners at first doubted it, a half of the King's share in the borough ferm seems to have become the Staffords' by Royal grant. [P. 246: *medietatem partis propriæ Regis habet Robertus dono Regis ut dicit*. A later entry is positive upon the subject; p. 248, verso: *in burgo de Statford habet Robertus lxx. sol. de medietate partis Regis*.]

In another passage of the Staffordshire census, at fo. 249, Robert is found at Bramshall a close neighbour of the King; the same Robert, it tells us, holds in Bramshall (Bramselle) one virgate of land of which one moiety is the King's as the way halves it (*ut via eam dividit*).

It seems impossible not to admit the sagacious conclusion of a distinguished antiquary, that the King expressly withheld from Robert everything that might savour of earldom. But be that as it

may, and whatever the cause, perhaps a distrust or jealousy of the recipient, or promises of abstention, or promises of annexation to other earldoms, the fact nevertheless remained that no temporal lord in the county was, in respect at least of territory, so great a lord as the lord thus in one particular slighted; sixty or sixty-one are the number of knights' fees he had to answer for, and in the Elenchus or list of tenants *in capite* he stands immediately after Henry de Ferrers, himself then not an Earl,¹ it is true, but the holder of still more considerable estates in Derbyshire, and of one between the Ribble and Mersey, etc.

Allied by blood with the Conqueror, richly endowed with local estates, and greeted emphatically by those who surrounded him as "Stafford," no wonder he at once accepted the designation which soon after, in ordinary parlance, implied the territorial dominion, and what wonder if a representative of the family fifty or sixty years later, less familiar with facts, called the Church his, the burgh his, the castle his;² what wonder if he committed the anachronism of inferring that the name imported it in the eleventh century; or even what wonder if, after the third Duke's escheat, a restored lord should make the singular pretension that his family itself had given name to the borough! [I.]

Dugdale thought the first Robert was Sheriff of Staffordshire. A Nicholas is too described as Sheriff [L.],³ and we know from the Pipe Rolls that the son of Nicholas, a second Robert, was Sheriff of Staffordshire too. After the destruction of the first royal castle of Stafford, *temp.* William the Conqueror, no special nominee is recorded except during the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, when the Baron of Wem (Pantulf) is in charge. So that in all the other time of unrecorded custody, the Staffords, if Sheriffs, would be in possession of the King's castle. It soon, however, after the commencement of the existing continued series of Pipe Rolls, ceased to have any warlike significance, but dwindled, as we have seen, down, as was the case with other royal castles, to a mere gaol,⁴ by which name it came to be known, although the more feudal name never

¹ An Earl "de Ferrariis" appears the first time in the Pipe Rolls 6 H. II.

² "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., pp. 210, 211, and Mr. Eyton's remarks, p. 213; and yet after all I think the equivocal arises from different things being called by the same name; *supra*, p. 10.

³ "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. V., Part I., p. 12, line 4; and see Pipe Roll, 31 H. I., p. 82, for Northamptonshire, *ed.* Hunter; but see Eyton's "Staffordshire Domesday," p. 79.

⁴ As to which see the Assizes of Clarendon, ch. X.

entirely died out, so that in a patent of the reign of King VIII. the Stafford one is therein, as before said, by the King called alternatively, "my Gaol or Castle of Stafford." [I.]

What wonder if this race of sheriffs, who derived their name from Stafford, and held the Manor of Stafford, came, as I said, to regard themselves at one time as lords of its borough, and lords of its intramural castle. We may suppose that this again was by reason of some royal hint or royal promise, or we may go further and pronounce it to be the suggestion of ambition growing out of a family tradition. When the neighbouring County Palatine of Shrewsbury was no longer there, and the succession to the throne contested, then might a Chief de Stafford speak in bolder terms of his "burgh and his Castle of Stafford." ["Collections," Vol. II., pp. 210, 211.]

Not that it is intended positively to say that the Staffords had not at an earlier period their baronial residence especially their own; Erdeswick saw a deed of early date dated from Castre near Stafford; and see another deed so dated at p. 50 *supra*.

It is not unlikely, and indeed highly probable, they would have had a stronghold, whether castle or not, popularly so called, although it may, with the others spoken of in Henry II.'s treaty with Stephen, have been destroyed; and it is not likely that such a stronghold, as long as the Staffords were in custody of the King's castle, would have been much cared for; it would have even been neglected, characterising, nevertheless, the manor in which it stood as the Manor of Castre, although the Baron is only spoken of as holding its members as of a "chief or principal messuage." (Inquisition *p.m.* E. I.) Some important records too specify the Church of St. Mary in the castle as belonging to St. Mary's Stafford before the Conquest, and others speak of a chapel or church of St. Nicholas in the "castre" as founded time out of mind; and one of the same dedication undoubtedly was afterwards in the baronial castle, and has been even commemorated so lately as in an inquisition *p.m.* of the reign of James I. [*supra*, p. 23.] But this matter has already been alluded to.

So far with respect to two so termed castles, King's and Baron's, which existed in that neighbourhood. They have created difficulties in the minds of careful antiquaries. One has left this question of the castles and churches of Stafford as a problem to future investigators. My subject has led me try to solve the question.

In the great census we have seen that the scion of a Norman

house is styled Robert de Stadford by the King's Commissioners themselves. But the town or borough must have belonged to the Saxon Kings, and was then William's. Why did the King's Commissioners, and why did Robert Tonei, we may say, by adopting it, take this liberty with a town not his own but the King's?

The attribution of the name struck Dugdale as singular, and as demanding explanation; for alluding to the numerous estates and lordships assigned to this lord in various counties by the general survey, he noted that Stafford was not in the list, and the reason why, "because the castle which King William the Conqueror had caused to be built in that part of Stafford, then a member of Chebsey, and belonging to Henry de Ferrier (*sic*), was at that time demolished." Of which castle, when it stood, it is like this Robert, he continues, was governor, and therefore took that surname from his residence thereat, for that his name was originally Tonei is clear enough. [E.] Therefore according to that great genealogist, residence as governor in the King's castle of Stafford was the reason of the surname. This may have been so; but if so, we are entitled to ask, if Robert Tonei thus took his name from his residence as governor, how came it that contemporaneously another took the same name of whom there is no recorded residence there? How came it that Nigel de Stadford, whom Dugdale supposes Robert's brother, has assigned to him the same name in the Derbyshire Domesday? If this Nigel had been Robert de Stadford's son the theory would hold good, but that unproved, we must seek the explanation elsewhere? It is to be looked for in what we may style the historical certainties which accompany the whole career of the great feudal house, supplemented by the reasonable inferences, deducible not only from its origin in Normandy, its appearance in England, and its large participation in the spoil of the Conquest, but from the policy of kings, and their probable promises, and from the temptations and ambition of the feudal lords themselves. Let us consider them as they were in Normandy, and then what they afterwards became in England. How better judge of the extent or the grounds of their aspirations?

Several very authentic lists remain to us of the associates of William in the conquest of England; there is a detailed one and a brief one. The former is written in the pages of the great survey, which was a fatal doom or knell to nearly all the great previous English landholders. The other list is furnished by the Anglo-Norman historian Orderic, and in fact comprises two very brief

enumerations of those adventurous Norman warriors: the one of those foremost in rank in their own country, the other of those who were foremost in the battle of Senlac. In all three lists the name of Tonei is conspicuous. In this list of Orderic's of the chief families in Normandy appear Richard Count d'Evereux, son of the Archbishop Robert, Count Robert, son of William Viscount d'Eu, Robert Earl of Moreton, uterine brother of Duke William, (*Ralph*) *de Conches*, *son of Roger Tonei*, *Standard Bearer of Normandy*, William fitz Osberne, the Duke's cousin, and High Steward of Normandy, William de Warrene, and Hugh Boteler, Hugh de Grant Mesnil, and Roger de Mowbray, Roger de Beaumont, and Roger de Montgomery, Baldwin and Richard, sons of Count Gislebert. Almost all these, remarks the latest French editor of Orderic, were relatives of the Duke of Normandy, although not all expressly so described by the historian, but by him pronounced to be all foremost of the Norman nobles. The other list of those foremost in the battle, gives in addition to Eustace Count de Boulogne, William son of Richard, Count d'Evreux, Geoffrey son of Robert Count de Montagne, William fitz Osbourne, Robert son of Robert de Beaumont, a novice in arms, Aimer Viscount de Thouars, Earl Hugh de Montford the Constable, Walter Giffard, and Ralph Count de Longueville, the same *Ralph de Tonei* (*Lord of Tonei and Conches*, *Standard Bearer of Normandy*). Roger de Montgomery appears in the first list and not in the second, for he had been left behind as Governor of Normandy, according to the better opinion; but he afterwards accompanied the King at the close of the year, on his sudden recall from Normandy by intelligence of a formidable insurrection of the English. [F.]

The name of Tonei then appears in both of those lists, but it is the head of the family, the hereditary standard bearer Ralph, ancestor of the Cliffords of Clifford Castle, first held by this Ralph, and not the progenitor of the Staffords Robert, nor his presumed near relative styled in Domesday Book Nigel de Stafford, who is mentioned in them. We cannot affirm of the two latter that they were present at Senlac. But as their shares of the escheats that followed the great Mercian uprising were very considerable, it seems certain they must have been with the King-Duke when he so severely suppressed the Staffordshire insurgents as narrated by Orderic the historian. Although it cannot be affirmed of either that he was at the great battle, the then head of their family Ralph de Tonei certainly was there, as before mentioned. This Ralph

bore a territorial surname conspicuous in the annals of the restless feudal lords of Normandy and of its ecclesiastical history, as that of the son of the founder of the Abbey of Conches, and benefactor of that of St. Evroult. The Conqueror's Charter of Confirmation to the Abbey of St. Evroult has fourteen witnesses, two are the King's sons Robert and William, the others are his Earls, etc., of higher rank. Ralph de Conches stands third after Roger of Shrewsbury and Hugh of Chester. (See Ordericus Vitalis, B. VI., c. 5.) Becoming Lord of Flamstead co. Herts, he retained his prior Norman name. The name is spelt in early documents Tony, de Toneio, Thony, Todení, and Thotenei; but under those names it is the family of Conches which is perhaps always referred to, although nothing but a seeming identity of designation connects with it the powerful race whose original English seat was Belvoir Castle.

Anyhow, enough remains to show that the Staffords belonged to a great Norman family which had other powerful relatives settled in castles in England; a family too having justifiable pretensions to Royal favour and rank, of which a castellated residence was at the time, by the experience of its uses and the Royal example and encouragement, the almost invariable accompaniment.

But although in Robert de Stafford such pretensions might be reasonable in themselves, local circumstances might render them difficult or unlikely of realization. That would mainly depend upon his personal qualities and those of his probable rivals. For the prize at stake might in fact be the Earldom of Staffordshire, and what the earldom then might mean may be gathered from what Milo de Gloucester received from the Empress Matilda with the Earldom of Hereford.¹ His personal qualities, such, that is, as the King would require from his supporters in a disturbed and dangerous province of recent acquisition, we may take for granted. But the veteran experience and strategic quality necessary to the commandant, he or his successor Nicholas may not have possessed, and the one or the other may have shown his shortcoming in respect of the first destroyed Royal Castle of Stafford.

Robert de Stadford had at an early date his chief residence in or close to Stafford; his estates there encompassed the town on all

¹ Rymer's "Foedera," Vol. I., p. 14.

sides except that occupied on the east by the King's vivary. But those estates were themselves contiguous to estates in the hands of more powerful earls and barons, those especially of Chester, and Montgomery, father and son.

Notwithstanding Stafford's goodly share, which was greater in the county than theirs, it is not unlikely that as a warrior or a politician he was eclipsed by the superior qualities of those Counts Palatine; or again their jealous rivalry, or the King's distrust, may have induced the Conqueror or his son to hold out as a future possibility for Stafford the rank of earl, and yet still to withhold it from him.

Mr. Eyton's sagacity pointed to this explanation of the curious entries in Domesday Book as to the anomalous position of Robert de Stadford, who although holding so many manors in the county, and sharing in the King's one-third from the ferm of the Borough of Stafford, was not girded with the sword of the earl, or entitled by Royal Patent, as far as we know, to represent the county as its chief noble. The forfeiture of the family of Montgomery in the reign of Henry I., only served to let in other competitors, but still although several Shrievalties of Stafford (and we have seen that Dugdale suggested that the first Robert had also been Sheriff) may have served further to aggrandize them, the void left by the Montgomeries was in the following reign rather filled up by others, notably the Earls of Chester, than by the Staffords. There are indeed paragraphs in the Pipe Rolls of a little later date leading us to conclude that the King, retaining in his own hands this earldom, evinced no disposition to part with his Royal demesnes or Comital authority in the county; for he had a King's Chapel and vivary, and a fortress in Stafford, besides his burgesses there and his manuses; he had too his Royal forest only a mile or two away, and houses, and a dairy farm at Cannock. This appears to have been the case in the early part of the reign of Henry II., and probably it was so earlier, for even in the previous century, Domesday tells us that Edward the Confessor had thirteen prebendal Canons, that is, a Royal Collegiate Church in Stafford. And now the Norman Duke wore Edward's crown! It may be said why should a great King as Henry was, desire a seat in these parts remote from Normandy and Anjou and his other possessions? The answer is this: down to the final subjugation of the Welsh, this side of England was ever of high consequence in a military point of view, was frequently visited by our sovereigns, and

traversed by their armies as well as by those who rebelled against their authority. I may add there is proof of all the early Kings having visited Staffordshire except perhaps William II. With respect to the Conqueror he may have thought it good policy to retain Staffordshire, not only as a secondary line of defence against the Welsh, but as his own boundary against the powerful earls to whom he had accorded a Palatinate and independent sovereignty in Cheshire and Shropshire.

What the position was that Robert de Statford and his first successor held in the contest for power with the powerful feudal lords near him needs elucidation, and the evidence to make it out is far from conclusive; but the Sherifffdom was perhaps, it has been said, its basis. At that early period the high office which then conferred the chief authority, military as well as civil, was granted sometimes in other counties to successive members of the same family. In the absence of other special appointment to a Royal castle, it is apprehended that the Sheriff would *ex officio* have its custody, and the first baron may thus have taken his name de Stafford not as a territorial one at first, but as a description, which, the castle effaced, would cease to be applicable, especially when, as we know was the case, the King appointed a different castellan to the Royal castle which he rebuilt at Stafford, *i.e.*, William Pantulf. For I am not aware that in the eleventh century or in the twelfth, or even later, the Latin preposition "de" prefixed to a local name necessarily was more than one of various modes of distinguishing a man in respect of connection with some place. Robert Tonei may then have been styled Robert de Stadford for the same reason as Turchil his Saxon contemporary was called Turchil de Warwick (as to which see Dugdale's "Warwickshire," first edition, p. 302), namely, from residence there or holding the castle for that King's Earl as vice-comes, or as representing the King in the respective towns, in neither of which counties had any earl been made, the King retaining the earldom in his own hands in both. But to return to the subject of the Sherifffdom, I remark that although the third of the feudal Lords de Stafford had no lord of his name de Stafford successor in the Sherifffdom, the same high office was held by one of his foremost liege Knights, Hervey de Stretton, for eighteen years successively (13 H. II.—30 H. II.).

This interval passed, it is not easy to avoid suspecting that this branch of the Toneis having fallen to the distaff, it had somewhat

declined in power and influence, although fated to rise again higher ; and the incessant wars with France which soon ensued terminating (*temp.* John) in the separation of France from Normandy, would so react upon the principal branch as not only to detract from its importance, but disparage for a time the junior branch at Stafford.

The last baron of the first Stafford race was also a crusader ; the preparation for this distant and adventurous expedition encumbered the estates of many of his coëvals, and may have embarrassed his. So that we may finally suppose that the close of the twelfth century did not find the different branches of this originally foremost family with a position relatively improved ; but their hopes and aspirations remained the same, and long before this they had at least got rid of formidable competitors in the case of a neighbouring family, to be presently mentioned.

It was a sad foreshadowing of what England had to expect and endure from these warriors, to know that before they were launched upon this country, and even during the minority of their Duke, their families had been continually engaged in cruel feuds amongst themselves ; “thus,” says Ordericus, “the Normans took off by poison Alan Count of Brittany, their own Duke’s guardian, and defeated his successor Count Gislebert in a bloody battle, the two nations massacring each other incredibly in almost daily encounters. Likewise Turketil de Neufmarche, and *Robert de Toneri*, and Osbern, Steward of Normandy, and William and Hugh the two sons of Roger de Montgomery, and Robert de Beaumont, *Walkelin de Ferrers*, and Hugh de Montfort, and many other powerful warriors, made war on each other by turn, causing great confusion and distress in the country, which was then deprived of its natural protectors, *i.e.*, by the nonage of William.” [B.V., ch. 9.] So that one main motive of the Conqueror in his invasion of England may have at first been to employ his turbulent barons : history repeating itself ; something of the same kind took place when Archbishop Chicheley counselled Henry V. to amuse his subjects in foreign wars.

THE NEIGHBOURING FEUDAL CHIEFS.

FERRERS, FITZ ANSCULF, ROGER DE MONTGOMERY AND HIS SON
HUGH, WILLIAM PANTULF, AND THE EARLS OF CHESTER.

All these chiefs were not only great in power and influence in Staffordshire, but by all but one of them holding mansures in the burgh of Stafford itself were likely, if disposed, to be formidable rivals and enemies of Robert de Stafford. Ferrers (Mr. Planché restored the orthography Ferrier) owned one mansure in the burgh, described in Domesday as then "vastam." He had held also the site of the first Royal castle there, and this in right of his Manor of Chebsey, but at the date of the Domesday compilation it was in ruins; perhaps both wasted mansure and ruinous site are descriptions of one interest. The lordship of this part of his property, whatever the property was, would accompany under ordinary circumstances the descent of the Manor of Chebsey; and that of Chebsey, although topographers are generally silent upon the subject, can be traced from Ferrers to the Royal House of Lancaster, and found to be treated as a member of the Honor of Tutbury. It had become such no doubt as a consequence of the Ferrers' forfeiture *temp.* H. III.

But somehow or other, that part of the fee in the Ferrers' estate in the borough of Stafford is no more spoken of as belonging to Ferrers. It had been severed, no doubt, and become the King's, and was the site of more than a single Royal castle; Domesday Book says upon it, "Rex præcepit fieri castellum quod modo est destructum;" the phrase and context imply that the King had taken the land for himself. On the other hand, Ferrers had his own castle at Tutbury, and a burgh around it, as I understand the description in the Census. The Conqueror sometimes altered such territorial arrangements. We shall presently see an instance of his doing so in the case of William fitz Ansculph (p. 67).

The Castle of Tutbury had been, it appears, in the hands of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester;¹ when the census was compiled it

¹ Several estates, part of the fief of Earl Roger de Montgomery, appear in Domesday Book as in tenure of a "William." The estates are Cresswall, Dodington (Derrington), Modreshal, Almenton, Anstonfield, Celteton, and Basford. All but the first of these are mentioned as occupied by William simply; but on the first occurrence of the name at Cresswall, Pantulf is written above the name of place, so that Cresswall was in William Pantulf's tenure. It would seem possible that William

was in the hands of Henry de Ferrers, another instance of a change of territorial arrangement. But Lupus was abundantly compensated by receiving the Palatinate. Walkelin father of Henry de Ferrers, and Roger de Tonei father of Robert de Stafford had both fallen in the feuds of the great Norman Barons which preceded the majority of William. Ordericus is again our authority, who adds that the liberality of the Conqueror had caused some of those who attached themselves to his fortunes to have "vassals richer and more powerful than their own fathers had been in Normandy" (Ordericus Vitalis, B. IV., c. 7). Henry de Ferrers appears in Domesday Book to have been endowed with fast upon two hundred manors in different counties, but the greater number in Derbyshire, with a promise of an earldom to come. Erdeswick and Ordericus both say that he obtained the earldom at the hands of King Stephen; which, although Mr. Eyton questions it, seems not unlikely, if regard be had to the power of the Ferrers who had joined Stephen, and the lavish generosity of the King, not as in many other similar reasons confirmed by the politic Henry II.; so that in effect no member of the Ferrers family may be said to have really obtained the substantial earldom of Derby until William Peverill was out of the way, and Ferrers had been girded with the sword of the earldom by King John. But be it with this particular honor as it may, many circumstances tend to show that the first feudal lord was favoured by his Sovereign; the estates show it which he received at his hands, as does also the trust reposed in him in his appointment with Bishop Wolstan and

Pantulf was also intended for the tenant in all those other places. Eminent Domesday scholars have, however, understood, perhaps rightly, not William Pantulf but William Malbanc, one of the Earl of Chester's barons, as the William intended. In understanding it so, however, they have followed the thought rather than the assertion of the author of the "Antiquities of Staffordshire." (See Harwood's edition, pp. 457 and 481.) There was no doubt both an acquisition by and a transfer of Staffordshire estates from early Earls of Chester; as to which see "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. I., p. 231, and Vol. III., p. 224, but the precise date of the different transactions and their nature are not very clear, neither do we quite see how the Earl of Chester's Baron William Malbanc is made to be the "William" a tenant of fiefs of Roger de Montgomery. (See remarks of Mr. S. P. Wolverton in a note to Harwood's Erdeswick, p. 470.) This matter is only an additional evidence of the unsettled ownership of the manors, and the delicate and dangerous relations of the great earls. They answered, however, the purpose and policy of the Conqueror. When their *imperium in imperio* ceased to have a reason in times of early conquest, one sovereign, Henry I., destroyed the County-Palatine constitution of Shropshire by force of arms, and another sovereign, Henry III., annexed that of Chester to his own family by an extraordinary exercise of arbitrary authority.

Bishop Remige, the Earl Walter Giffard, and Adam brother of Eudo the King's Dapifer, as Commissioners for carrying out the work of the great Survey. Henry de Ferrers must then have been a man of ability. The very circumstance detailed that the King had built his castle in Stafford upon Ferrers' land, in my opinion shows equally, with the King's sharing his ferm of Stafford with Robert de Stafford, that he felt he could place more confident reliance upon each of these than upon the more powerful and more jealous nobles, whose might he sought to profit by rather in the field perhaps than in the council.

Of William fitz Ansculf much need not be said. He is described in the Survey as holding considerable estates, most of them in other counties. In Worcestershire he had his castle at Dudley, of Surrey he is said to have been Sheriff (*Vicecomes*). In Staffordshire he is described as holding amongst many manors, those of Penn and of Mollesley, which had belonged, the former to Earl Algar, and the latter to the Countess Godiva. Fitz Ansculf is said to hold also as pertaining to Penn four comital mansures in the burgh of Stafford. His sphere of action seems to have been rather outside Staffordshire, and his office of Sheriff to mark him as rather of a class less dangerous to Robert de Stafford than the fierce spirits that were in the foremost ranks of the conquering host. In Domesday Book, Vol. I., in Buckinghamshire, fol. 148*b*., he is said to have exchanged his Manor of Esenberge with Ralph Talgebosch for half of Risenberga, by command of King William.

With respect to William Pantulf there is certainly clear evidence of his standing in direct competition with Robert de Stafford's son Nicholas, for King Henry I. prefers the former to the keepership of his restored castle in Stafford. But Pantulf seems to have united to remarkable ability a spirit of moderation: He had numerous interests elsewhere, in Salop and in Normandy, of which much has been said before (*supra*, p. 21 and 22). His life had been an eventful one, and was perhaps near its close. He appears in Domesday as a tenant under Roger de Montgomery both in Shropshire and Staffordshire; but William Pantulf had great possessions in Normandy, where he founded the Abbey of Norum in 1074, and amply endowed it, giving all his personal estate to be divided between the Monks of Norum and those of St. Evroult, Roger de Montgomery confirming both grants. Pantulf held several lordships in Salop under the Montgomeries, one being Wem. Afterwards suspected wrongfully of having participated in the

murder of his lord's first wife Mabel, he purged himself by the ordeal of fire, but Mabel's son Roger de Belesme, with whom he had fruitlessly sought a reconciliation, having rebelled against Henry I., found in his former liegeman one of his most redoubtable enemies. The King appreciated the military experience of the veteran knight, and appointed him to be governor of Stafford Castle. His descendants were benefactors of Stone Abbey. (See Chetwynd's MS., "Pirehill Hundred." See also Dugdale's "Baronage," Vol. I., p. 434, and Ordericus Vitalis, B. XI., ch. iii.)

It appears to me that the real risk of Robert de Stafford was not from that apparently loyal knight, still less after the latter's ill-treatment by Belesme, but from a different quarter. The two had, it is probable, both of them, Belesme as an enemy.

The close dependence of Orderic's family upon the first Norman Earl of Shropshire does not prevent the historian from speaking at least of one of the Earl's evil deeds. "At this period," he says (and he seems to refer to a time not long before the Conquest) "grave dissensions arose between William of Normandy and his barons. For one ambitious man eagerly endeavoured to supplant another, so that bitter quarrels sprung up from various causes, to the great injury of the wretched people. . . . Among those who regarded these disputes with satisfaction were Roger de Montgomery and Mabel his wife, who took the opportunity of gaining the Duke's favour by fair professions, while they exasperated him against their neighbours by their crafty manœuvres. The Duke, naturally passionate, gave the reins to his wrath more than justice required, disinheriting the distinguished Knights Rodolph de Tonei, Hugh de Grant Mesnil, and Arnold d'Echaufour, with their barons, and compelling them to endure a long exile" (it lasted three years), "without any real cause of offence." Similar conduct on the Earl's part towards de Tonei's relative Robert, whom William's Commissioners had called de Stafford, may have shaken William's first intentions in the latter's favour, and induced him to give the Earl to him for a near territorial neighbour, and to make the Earl's son Hugh also a Staffordshire tenant *in capite*, and expectant participator also in future favours. And it is pertinent here to remark that this house of Montgomery was ambitious and able and grasping, and that four sons of Roger first Earl of Shrewsbury became, it is said, earls themselves; two certainly were so, and the other two, viz., Roger and Arnulph, became also virtually earls. Orderic goes so far as to say they were actually earls, one of Lan-

caster, the other of Pembroke ; more truly perhaps we may designate at least one of them like Stafford, as a Castellan Earl expectant.

The brothers Hugh and Robert de Montgomery had at their fathers' death his English and Norman earldoms, Hugh the English one, and Robert de Belesme the Norman ; by Hugh's death Belesme had both. Noteworthy also is the place long before assigned to this future Earl, Hugh son of Earl Roger, in the Domesday List of Staffordshire tenants *in capite* ; he and Henry de Ferrers are both made to precede Robert de Stafford. How imposing besides was the position of the two Earls of Shropshire and Chester appears from an incidental passage of Orderic, in which he calls them Earls of Mercia (Lib. X., ch. 6). That each may have thought that his Earldom had no definite and fixed boundary, or that that boundary had not been reached, is very possible, and we find this corroborated by the sequel, for the younger son of Earl Roger, Roger Pictavensis, obtained a great part of Lancaster from the Conqueror ; and when he had forfeited it, it was the Earl of Chester who became his successor there ; and an Earl of Chester might afterwards, had the second Henry kept his promise, have united the Earldom of Stafford with that of Cheshire. [Compare the remarks upon the treaty of Devizes made by Mr. Eyton, "Stafford Collections," Vol. II., p. 224.] It is possible that those two Palatine Earls of Chester and Salop were originally encouraged to believe that all of the Earldom of Mercia conquered by their means would be shared between them ; and so they might come to regard any but themselves who were looking forward to be endowed with any part of that great escheat as interlopers. Roger de Montgomery is called also by Ordericus in one place [Lib. VIII., c. 2] Earl of Mercia. After his death his son Hugh de Montgomery and Hugh d'Avranches (Lupus) are called by the same writer [B. X., ch. 6] "the two Earls who have the chief authority in Mercia, and who both bore the name Hugh." The Saga of King Magnus afterwards called them "Hugo the brave and Hugo the big" (Le Gros). It tells us that the former, that is the Earl of Shrewsbury, fell by the hand of King Magnus. And Hugh Lupus, then in the decline, died not long after, that was in 1094. But in 1086, at the date of the great census, one was in the plenitude of his force, and the other still vigorous ; as also was Roger de Montgomery, who has there assigned to him, besides estates in close contact with Robert de Stafford's, numerous manures within the walls of the borough, of which three are said to be adjacent to the "hall," but

none of these are called comital mansures; whereas, as I have said, of that class (comital) Hugh de Montgomery held as pertaining to his manor of Worfield five, fitz Ansculf held in respect of Penn four, and Robert de Stafford thirteen in respect of Bradeley; the remaining twenty-two being retained by the King, altogether forty-four comital mansures in the borough itself. With such chiefs for neighbours Robert's position needed consideration and support. Perhaps the King desired their strength to be balanced. But Robert would naturally wish himself stronger. He would wish for additional support; whence? It seems to me he might look for it from the Earl Palatine of Chester. I am inclined to think one would be justified in saying that he actually looked for it there, and found it there; for Dugdale in his "Warwickshire" (1st ed., p. 772) makes Nicholas the son of the first Robert de Stafford the husband of Maud daughter of the Earl of Chester; she had however been the wife previously of the Earl of Hereford; for this important link Dugdale cites the respectable authority of Rous, Herald to King Richard III. The event belongs to a period when evidence is scanty; but at least as to the name Maud, Geva Riddel, another daughter of the Earl of Chester, had herself a daughter Maud, and the pedigree of the Staffords so long suspended in Stone Abbey assigns a wife of the name of Maud to Nicholas de Stafford; and that he had a wife so named is certain, for he writes her as Matilda in a Charter printed in Vol. II. of these "Collections," p. 195. This Matilda would be daughter, legitimate or not I cannot say, of Hugh called Lupus d'Avranches, the son of Richard, named Goz (red). Hugh's wife was Ermentrude, daughter of Hugh de Clermont. Orderic describes him as cruel to his brother-in-law, as fierce, liberal, and prodigal, of as boundless rapacity as generosity, as keeping an army on foot, as prone to lust, as rather a patron of the chase than of agriculture or religion. Hugh had left by Ermentrude at his death (1101) but one son (*child*, Orderic says), Richard, who perished with his wife Matilda, niece of Henry I., in the wreck of the "Blanche Nef" (1119). [Orderic, B. X., ch. viii.] Lupus had stood for William Rufus in his war with the French King. [*ib.* ch. 5.] This character of Hugh given to us by the Anglo-Norman Historian contrasts remarkably with the favourable one he gives of Roger of Montgomery; but the historian's birth, parentage and profession of monk would lead him to extol and enhance the merit of the Earl who was at once the Lord of Orderic's father, protector of his servant Ordelirius, and the founder of St. Evroult of which the Historian was a professed monk.

THE BARONIAL CASTLE AND ITS FREE CHAPEL.

A pleasing object meets the eye of the traveller as he approaches Stafford. He beholds upon a neighbouring eminence to its west what, uninformed and at the distance, a mile, he may regard as the eastern façade of a perfect feudal castle. He is deceived, the castle is far from entire, it is recent, and has probably nothing of its predecessor but its foundation.

Stafford town itself, we have seen (*supra*, p. 9), had at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign a mimic representation of a supposed Saxon castle "fortified with reel walls." It stood near where the mill now is and near the new bridge, that is, it looked out directly to the Baronial Castle of Stafford-upon-the-Hill to the west. All that has disappeared.

At the present day this Baronial Castle has itself also its mimic representation with real walls on the hill, due to the initiative of Sir Henry Jerningham about seventy years ago. Nothing I know of preserves the memory of the prior state of the structure except an unpublished plate from a drawing by Mr. Stebbing Shaw made nearly at the beginning of the century. This showed nothing standing but the south wall, which the drawing presents edgewise to the observer; but the nude dome-like mass of the mound is there too, as also are the south side of the Castle Church and its cemetery, with a palisade separating it from what was not a road like the Newport Road, which is there now, but a mere bridle way apparently. Its ruinous condition was due to the Parliamentarians in the seventeenth century. What did the ruined wall represent? What did the Jerningham structure mimic?

The reply is in neither case dubious; the wall was the remaining portion of a castle erected by Ralph Baron, afterwards first Earl of Stafford, which it seems at one time Sir Henry Jerningham designed to restore completely. (See Mr. Nightingale's remarks (1813) as to the ruins and partial restoration; also Mr. Clifford's in his "Tixall," in the Appendix.) [E.]

I have spoken of a supposed castle of still greater antiquity than Baron Ralph's, and I have referred to *post-mortem* inquiries (p. 18, *supra*) of different Barons as suggestive of at least inferences as to its existence; this seems the place to consider those inquiries more particularly.

An inquisition taken on the death of Henry de Audeleye,

4 E. I., *m.* 50, having occasion to speak of the defunct's interest in Horton, tells us that Henry held two parts of Horton of the Barony of Stafford; and an inquisition on the death of John de Chetewynde similarly alludes to his having held of Robert de Staundon, Weston in Standon, the latter holding it of the Baron of Stafford, (*Inq. p.m.* 9 E. I., *m.* 6.) But in neither case is there any allusion to any tenure as of a castle or to any castle at all.

A *post-mortem* inquisition of the eighteenth year of Edward I. (1289-90) is the first in which matter of importance in this respect touching the head of the Barony of Stafford appears upon the records. It is as we before said in the form of an extent. A writ to the escheator had ordered an extent to be made of the manor of Stafford, then in the King's hands because of the minority of the son and heir of Nicholas Baron of Stafford, who had held of the King *in capite*, and which manor the King had committed to the custody of William de Gerlande. What took place under the writ is described as an extent of the manor in question; but I have observed the singularity that it is not by the name of the manor, as the writ had termed it, of Stafford, but by the name by which it seems to have been popularly known in the neighbourhood, the name of the Manor of Castre (Castle), that the extent was executed. Now when we know that the manor itself of Stafford is still within the parish of Castle Church, and that neither this parish nor manor had ever had any "mouvance" or dependence upon the King's Castle in the borough, it is evident that it would only be to another Castre Castle to which the return could allude; and what could that be but the Castre of the Stafford without the King's borough?

By patent 22 Ed. III., Part I., *m.* 37, the King granted to Ralph Baron license to "fortify and crenellate his 'manses' of Stafford and Madlee (Madeley) with a wall of stone and lime and make castles thereof."

Previous to this the escheats show by their silence that the Staffords had no crenellated or castellated residence in the county.

If then, as is probable, they had any castle previously, it must at an earlier date have been demolished with the numerous similar fortresses in consequence of the final treaty between the Kings Stephen and Henry II. After that date no castle could be erected without the express permission of the King, and the license to crenellate granted to Ralph Baron Stafford, afterwards Earl, is the first upon record.

The silence of the previous escheats upon the subject of a Baronial Castle at Stafford is so important to show its non-existence, that it is desirable the reader should see the terms bearing upon this point as they are used in the escheat of Edmund Baron Stafford, which escheat is of the second year of Edward II. (*m.* 63), A.D. 1308-9, and compare them with those of the escheat of this Baron's son Ralph, a remarkable noble, who was invested Earl of Stafford by girding of the sword and of the King's special grace by the name of Earl of the same place.

After stripping the record of matter irrelevant to the description of the Stafford chief lieu, the reader will find the most remarkable difference between the two accounts. The jurors upon Edmund's escheat found that the manors of Stafford, Bradeley, and Madeley were held of the King *in capite* by barony, viz., by the service of "finding for the Lord the King during forty days, at the tenant's own cost, three men armed and three horses caparisoned whenever they shall be required for his wars in Wales and Scotland." No castle is spoken of in any of the three manors, nor indeed at all. The manor of Stafford is described as follows:—

"In the manor of Stafford there is a *chief messuage*,¹ with gardens and curtilages, worth yearly 3s.; and there are there three carucates of arable land containing twelve score acres of land, worth yearly £4, price of the acre 4*d.*; and there are there three acres of meadow, worth 4s. 5*d.*, each acre worth 1s. 6*d.*; and there is a certain park, the profit of which is worth yearly 6s. 8*d.*; and there is a certain fishery there worth yearly 2s.; and there is there of rent of assize of free tenants £10; and the pleas and perquisites of the court there are worth yearly 40*d.*

Now it is unnecessary to cite instances, they are numerous, where place-names and manor-names have retained as Castre, Chesterton, Chester, Bur, traces indubitable of non-existent castles, castra, or burhs. But such words do not occur in the earlier Stafford inquisitions. On the contrary, Stafford inquests omit, except as I have said, corresponding words, until for the first time

¹ The Subsidy List (*supra* p. 24) shows in the 6th year of Edward III., the chief inhabitant of "Castre with the Marsh" to have been Thomas de Pipe. No doubt it was this knight who had married Margaret de Basset, relict (2 E. III.) of Edmund Baron Stafford. I think that Pipe and Margaret resided in the chief messuage in the manor, for the name Stafford is not mentioned in the Subsidy List. See *infra*.

they are introduced on the death of Ralph the first Earl of Stafford (see Escheat 46 E. III., *m.* 62), and we find the Staffordshire property of the deceased nobleman described for the first time as the Castle and manor of Stafford and manor of Bradeley with its members, viz., Bertherton (Burton), Bilinton, Wollaston, Shardecote (Shredicote), Longnere, Stretton, Dunston, Hide, Copinhale, Tillington, Castell, Forbryge, Stafford, and Butterhill; as also of the manor of Madelie with the hamlet of Norton, the manors of Berlaston (Barlaston), Gretton in the Mores, and Dodintone (Derrington), with the hamlets of Rudewode, Hertewal, Tilnesover, and Stalbroke. Nor was his castle at Stafford his only castle, he had also that of Caus through the Corbets, and of Tunbridge through the Audleys and Clares. The license to fortify extended to Madeley, but the permission, judging from the inquiries, was acted upon only as to Stafford manor; and no wonder, for the Staffords soon became by Royal alliance entitled to several other castles of greater importance.

What then of the other castle, not the King's, but really of the Staffords, on the nearest hill but a mile away?

According to the ancient usages of France, and it would seem of the earliest Normans in England, a great vassal of the Crown had the right to build a castle, ever understanding by the term a stronghold, having a *basse cour* or baily with fosses, a drawbridge, a square tower or keep, and a hand mill in the interior; he had the right also to invest his own vassals, and these theirs, with the same privilege.¹ This led in both countries not only to oppression of the lower classes, but to a weakening of the Royal authority. The formidable part played by castles in the war between Henry and Stephen is best proved by the dismantling of many hundreds of these fortresses in England, and by the law which for the future rendered the King's consent necessary to their erection.

That these feudal barons about the time of their first settlement would contemplate at the earliest favourable opportunity the exercise of their feudal right, and did actually imitate the example set them by their own relatives, and even by chiefs of less rank and fewer manors, may be reasonably supposed; but as in the interval that followed the treaty of Devises down to about the middle of the fourteenth century no conclusive record countenances the existence of any castle near Stafford in a subject's hands, it may well be supposed that the Staffords' Castle, though begun, had

¹ See "Répertoire Universel et raisonné de Jurisprudence," Titre Château.

never been completed, or had been demolished with the rest, and that their chief messuage in the same manor, as it is described in the first Stafford Inquisition *post mortem* (18 E. I.), had served as their caput Baronie down to the time when Ralph de Stafford who had espoused an Audley, coheiress of a coheiress of de Clare, and which Ralph had distinguished himself by his share in the French war, at last crowned his family's aspiration by obtaining from his Sovereign not only the Royal license to crenellate or fortify his two Manor Houses of Stafford and Madeley, but the long-coveted title of Earl.

In the inquisitions *p. m.*, the Staffords have been described as holding their Staffordshire lands variously as of the Manor of Stafford, or as of their chief messuage, or as of the Manor of Castre, or as of the Manor of the Castle of Stafford. Somewhat strangely indeed the Lords' Committee in their third Report, A.D. 1829, upon the Dignity of a Peer, pp. 183-5, spoke of the baronial castle as existent, *i.e.*, in 1290; and even went so far as to suggest that probably the chief mansion had been made a castle without licence during the civil wars of the previous reign.¹ The Report proceeds to say: "The capital messuage in the Manor of Stafford was, however, probably the "caput Baronie of the Barons of Stafford, as a capital messuage, though not a legitimate castle appears to have been the caput Baronie of other Baronies." It cannot be here meant that such chief house was in Stafford; the suggestion would be in opposition to received principle, and would be improbable and unnecessary, for the inquisition leaves it certain that the chief messuage was situate in the parish and manor of the Castle, where presumably an original castle of the Staffords had stood or been commenced prior to the treaty of Devizes in 1164 as before said.

The feuds of the Baron led to the enormous number of 1,100 being constructed in this country, one of which might reasonably be supposed to be erected by the chief feudal landholder in the county, who held sixty knights' fees therein alone; and the more so, that it is unnecessary to suppose it as more than a stronghold, the nucleus of a future normal structure as yet of only hastily col-

¹ And yet their view derives countenance from what was done elsewhere in the country, for in 46 H. III., 1261, Roger de Somery began to make a castle of his manor house at Dudley, but was not suffered to complete it without a special licence from the King. Afterwards this Lord adhering to the King in the Barons' war was permitted to build a castle on the site of his manor house. Also it may be noted that the mason's contract for building the castle *temp.* Edward III., now at Blithfield, bears a date slightly anterior to the King's licence to fortify.

lected material, intended chiefly to prevent surprise. In fact, as long as the King had himself a Castle at Stafford, occasionally used, it is supposed by him, with a King's pool for fishery near at hand, it was not probable that within a mile or so a baronial castle would spring up without Royal command or public utility, either for defence or control, and called by the same name of Stafford Castle. No; the King's Castle must have ceased to be used as a fortress before the Baron's could have authoritatively assumed its name. It is not unreasonable to infer that this Manor of Stafford, so popularly called Manor of Castre, would not have been called so from the King's Castle within the town, but from a castle of the manor itself without the town, and in fact from a castle upon the very elevation afterwards that upon which stood the Castle of the Earls and Dukes successors of the Barons Stafford. Again, the nearest manor to the King's Castle, afterwards Gaol, of Stafford, would have been Tillington, also a manor of the Staffords', and if mere vicinity led to a manor being called Castle Manor, Tillington Manor would have seemed entitled to the preference.

That the Manor of Stafford or Castre, nearly from the Conquest down to the wholesale demolition of castles by the convention between the two Princes who succeeded to Henry I. had had at some time its own castle, appears from other considerations.

Staffordshire, not far from the Welsh frontier, always at that time peculiarly perilous, suggested to the feudal lords the policy of placing their military resources behind defensive works, so that of the 1,100 castles said to have been constructed throughout England, the peculiar position of Staffordshire would seem to claim for it a far greater number than the ten of which Leland speaks to the existence in his own time, and the greatness of the Baron de Stafford would vindicate for him a castle for his caput Baronie.

"When we say," writes Maddox, naïvely, "a man holdeth of a castle or tower, it is to be understood that we use those terms for brevity's sake. For properly a tenant or feudatory cannot hold of a tower or any inanimate thing. For in all holding there is lord and tenant. A castle or tower cannot be a lord, nor can a tenant do homage to a tower and say, I become your man, etc. So that when we say a man holdeth of a tower or castle, it is meant as of such tower or castle (then being in the King's seisin), or that he holdeth of such a baron, in whose seisin or whole baronial seat such tower or castle is. In like manner, if we say that a man holdeth of the Crown, it is a common and well-known metonymy

signifying that he holdeth of the King for the time being, or of the King in perpetual succession."

The King's Castle when used as a fortress must, as has been said, have been of importance from the strength of its garrison; not so perhaps the Barons'. If these feudal lords believed the Earldom likely to be eventually theirs, they would have instances to make them also believe, for Milo of Gloucester's Earldom is one, that the Royal Castle would be granted to them also; such belief would explain why no baronial castle was immediately built by them near Stafford until the internecine wars maintained by Barons against Barons, and often against the Crown, until Edward I. mounted the throne. ("Rymer Fœdera," p. 14, *supra*.)

The repeated attainders to which Staffords were subjected during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must always suggest the name to any one who discusses or writes upon the subject of the Baronia Anglicana. Accordingly, Mr. Maddox reminding us that a city or town could not be the head of a Barony, and that when a part of the Barony it was only part of the demesne, that it consisted only in "dominico" and not in "servitio," and if there were a castle there (of the Baron) it and not the town was the head of the Barony; and afterwards instancing first the case of Richmond in Yorkshire, where the town was part of the demesne of the Manor of Richmond, but the castle was the caput Honoris, Maddox proceeds to cite the words of Mr. Justice Rokeby, in Lady Gerard's case (Mod. Rep., part 5, p. 66). The words are as follows: "When a Barony was *anciently* granted, there was a Castle with a territory also granted. Suppose there be a Barony of Stafford, and all the houses in the town of Stafford belonged before to the new Baron, which house shall be called caput Baronie? "A city or town therefore might be, and often was, a part of an Honor or Barony. But then it was not a capital, but an inferior part of such Barony. It is evident the constables, knights, and sergeants which were in castles, as well as those belonging to the King as those belonging to the Barons, did use in former ages to exercise a great superiority over the towns which were near them, and likewise the adjacent country. No wonder men who were covered with steel should domineer over burgesses and peasantry; the armed over the unarmed."

Such seems to be the legitimate conclusion of a writer of authority, who attributes the obscurities of the subject to the confusion arising from confounding titular honors and land honors.

But every castle contained a manor, according to Sir Edward Coke (2 Inst., 31); therefore the word *castre* might well stand for both. It is noticeable that the able lawyer who prepared the petition (A.D. 1807) of Sir William Jerningham, of Cossey, in the county of Norfolk, Baronet, claiming to be Baron of Stafford, had carefully measured his phraseology, expressly formulating the proposition thus: that Robert de Stafford, meaning the last of the Staffords of the de Tonei branch, was seised of the manor or baronial estate of Stafford, "of which the Manor of Stafford and Castle of Stafford, now in the possession of the petitioner, were, or one of them was, the head," and died so seised, leaving his sister, Milliscent de Stafford, his heir. [B.]

Now the petition has been generally assigned to the authorship of the well-known learned lawyer, Mr. Hargrave, who advised the claimant throughout. In spite of his careful words, "the honor or baronial estate of Stafford, of which the Manor of Stafford and Castle of Stafford, now in the possession of the petitioner, *were, or one of them was*, the head," that is, was, or might have existed in the time of the third Robert de Stafford (he died after a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A.D. 1176; see Dugdale's "Baronage," p. 156); in spite, I say, of such careful language, one is entitled to say that no document at the disposal of the petitioner who then had the estate disproved the fact of the existence of a castle in the twelfth century. Although in records the expression frequently occurs that such and such a tenant *in capite* held his land *per baroniam*, as of a castle, as of an honor, or as of a capital messuage, by a specified service; and although these words may, in the case of one or two land baronies, have a wider signification, yet the general proposition will, upon examination, be found reducible in common cases to very simple elements, and to signify no more than that the tenure was one by feudal service, and its subject such as was sufficiently pointed out by indicating some central spot, to which subject three things were essential, Seignury, Service, and Demesne." (Madox, *ubi supra*.)¹

The Castellum of the Barons of the first race in every sense used here must convey the idea of some castle, although it was never finished, or like the King's it may have been destroyed; but when in the reign of Henry III. a jury found by their verdict that a Church of St. Mary's existed in the Castellum before the Conquest, our assent to this proposition need not accord more than that the

¹ Third Report on the Dignity of a Peer, Vol. II., p. 182, A.D. 1829.

Church existed before the Conquest in the Manor afterwards called "Castellum." And in this sense I apprehend we may, but are not bound to understand that case. And the same remarks apply to a similar description of another Chapel, the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas, of which it is said that it had existed time out of mind within the "Castellum." Erdeswick, who had access to so many charters, had also one himself which was dated at the Castellum *juxta* Stafford. And we shall find that the Mason's contract with the then Lord Stafford is also so dated. Is not the conclusion justified that one or more of the first three Stafford Barons had had a something popularly called a castle in their Manor, which Manor at least has always been regarded as containing the caput of their Barony? Not that I would contend that a castle existed there when the Extent was taken (18 E. I.). I cannot do so when I read the contents of this Extent of the Manor of Castre. But that the Staffords have regarded their Baronial Castle as having stood on the hill near Stafford in the twelfth century is evident from the Jerningham petition. If at any time between the treaty of Devizes and the building of Earl Ralph's castle a fortress stood on the same site, it may have sprung up and been immediately destroyed in the lawless time that preceded the firm rule of Edward I. And if a site has once been occupied by such a structure, although afterwards in ruins, the term "the Castle" will remain an abbreviated appellation for a castle in ruins, and remain in the mouths of the tenants, who had formed the *corvée* for its erection, and the people at large, as bearing testimony to what has been, long after even the ruins have disappeared; and so it is that philologists have associated, and in the majority of instances probably in strict appropriateness, with many more local names the ancient existence of Roman camps or feudal castles.

The middle of the fourteenth century was an unhappy time in the midland counties for lovers of peace. A petition to Parliament in the year 1343 records the misadventures that occurred to the valuable merchandize of some Lichfield merchants and their persons whilst journeying from that city to Stafford, at the hand of well known Knights, who despoiled them and divided the booty in the alien Priory at Lapley, at a time when it was not in the charge of its religious men, owing to the war with France, and aggravating their offence by outrageous and forcible entry into a barn belonging to the nunnery of Blythbury.¹

¹ Arch. J., No. 13.

The times were lawless, the King at war on the Continent, and the offenders powerful. On one occasion the rank of the then chief of the Manor of Stafford, his position with the King, his military retainers, and the contiguity of the King's borough, did not secure the Baron's park and deer at the short distance of a mile or two from depredations.

At last the Baron saw the prudence, in times when crime and violence were so rampant in Staffordshire, of giving to his principal park and estate in the county the security that a neighbouring fortress would afford. The moment was favourable, he was in the prime of life, he had succeeded to a share of a Corbet inheritance in Shropshire, and to a share of the Gloucestershire estates of the De Clares and Andleys; he was a gallant and approved comrade in arms of his King, with a great future in the vista. In the year 1346-7, on the 6th of July, William de Sharesnull, John de Stafford, John de Lee, and William de Pertou, had been appointed to hear and determine the complaint of the Baron (Ralph), whom the King had heretofore taken with his men, lands, things, rents, and all his possessions under his especial protection and defence, prohibiting any person whatever from doing any damage or grievance to them in their persons or property, then the said Ralph affirmed that notwithstanding this Royal protection, Thomas Prior of the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr near Stafford, and Brother John de Ruggeleye, brother monk of the said Prior; John son of Adam de Ruggeleye, and Henry brother of the same John, Richard son of William Jurdan of Hilderston, Thomas son of Adam de Ruggeleye, John de Barndhurst, John Unewyne, and Nicholas de Ruggeleye, and certain other malefactors and disturbers of the King's peace, whilst the same Ralph was thus under the King's protection, forcibly *broke into the park of the same Ralph at Stafford, and hunted in the same without his licence, and took and carried away the deer*, and committed other enormities to the grievous damage of Ralph, and against the King's protection aforesaid and against the King's peace. (Patent Roll, 20 E. III., A.D. 1346-7, Part 2, m. 14, *in dorso*.) The date of this outrage was so little in advance of the building by Ralph of his Castle near Stafford, that we are justified in connecting them as motive the one of the other. Within six months after the entry into Stafford Park, *i.e.*, on the 6th day of February, A.D. 1348-9,¹ the King granted for himself and heirs to Ralph Baron of Stafford licence to fortify and crenellate his "manses" of Stafford and

¹ Patent Roll 22 E. III., 1348-9, Part I., m. 37.

Madlee with a wall of stone and lime, and to make castles thereof, and hold those "manses" so fortified and crenellated and made into castles to himself and his heirs for ever.

On the day of St. Hillary, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward III. (*a day which corresponds with the 13th January 1348*), by indenture made between Ralph Baron Stafford of the one part and Messer John Bercestre, Mason, of the other part, it was witnessed that the mason was to build for the said Baron a castle (*un chastelle*) upon the mound (*moële*) in the manoir of breadth, and length and height with "koms, sales, chambres, *chapele*, cheminees, garderobes, viz. (outlooks), fenestres, huis¹ (doors), and gates all to correspond in plan and color. The said Mons. Ralph wills that the should be twelve feet higher than the hall and chambers, and that the top (crowning) of their wall should be seven royal feet *Then after some details difficult to decypher*, Mons. Ralph (*that is the Baron*) is to get carried and placed along the mound the stone, sand, and lime. He is also to find by his seneschal the necessary scaffolding, ladders, sieves (*claires*), and "hobettes" (? hods), as well as the requisite strong ropes and vessels. And the said master (mason) is to carry the said stone, sand, and all other necessary things thereto pertaining, from the foot of the mound up along the summit and the sides, etc.

The document concludes thus: "In testimony of which things the parties aforesaid have interchangeably set their seals; and to certify the seal of Mons. Ralph there are also affixed near it the seals of Messrs. William de Colton and of John Pickstoke.

"Written at the Chastel of Stafford the day of St. Hillary, in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Edward the third after the Conquest."

Mr. Hamper the antiquary of Birmingham, through whose hand the document had passed, has added a note, for which see the Appendix. [U.]

A comparison of the dates of the Royal license to Ralph Earl of Stafford to crenellate, and of this his contract with the master mason to erect a castle in the manoir of Stafford, shows that the contract had preceded the license by twenty-three days; so he felt sure of the King's consent, or had obtained it. The state of this great Earl had a year or two previously (see the Patents and Fines

¹ Hence the old French legal term, "*huis clos*," closed door; and hence also French *huissier*, whence comes our *usher*.

referred to in Dugdale's "Baronage," Vol. I., p. 160*b*) greatly improved by the acquisition through coheireses of the two castles of Caus in Salop and of Tunbridge in Kent, which had belonged to his ancestresses who eventually became coheireses. Why he chose that moment to fortify himself on the hill near Stafford, when appointments in the service of the King were likely to keep him removed from all of them, is not clear; it is possible that it was, as I have said, the disturbed state of the vicinity, or that he felt his Earldom an obligation, and regarded his original baronial residence with increasing attachment. It is certain that during the life of this Earl much was done to provide there for the physical and spiritual necessities of his tenantry. Of these hereafter.

But the date of the mason's contract is far from being the only thing therein worthy of attention.

The contract with the mason, however, seems positively to express that not as in the other cases of record a mere "castre," castlewick, existed, but that there was some edifice to which the term castre in the sense of castle would be applicable, for it is dated, as that in Erdeswick's deed, "at the Castle" (à Châstel). This châstel could not have been upon the very site, for if that had been the case the contract would have spoken of repairs and of old materials, as to which it is wholly silent; I rather say that here châstel should be taken to mean something equivalent to the chief messuage within that which was popularly known as the castlewick. How such a popular use of the designation might occur I have before explained.

Two persons are mentioned as testifying to the seal of the Baron, viz., William de Colton, and John de Pickstoke. The former may have been a member of the Wasteney's family. The *nomina villarum temp.* E. II. (Shaw's "Staffordshire" Preliminary Matter XXXI. and II.) tells us that William de Wasteney and Anselm de Mareshall were owners of Colton, and John Pickstoke of Dunston. In Dunston the last name is still that of a landed proprietor.

We may affirm from the Baron's seal being itself certified by special witnesses that the Baron was not present, that his patent to crenellate had not yet been delivered to him, but was soon looked for, and that Ralph in order to expedite the edifice had obtained the positive contract from the mason with that view. Probably he was afterwards surprised to find that the question of water supply might become a serious one, and necessitate further steps; but his

life was an active one, and the calls upon his time numerous, and we do not find any such steps taken until he had long been dead, that is in the reign of Henry IV., when relatively to that I find in the great cartulary now at Blithfield, at page 13, the following memorandum concerning a deep well at Stafford Castle. I have retained the orthography of the MS.

"In Henry 4th's dayes a well was made at Stafford Castle that cost at that time liii. s., and also was allowed xxvi. s. for the cable roofs (ropes) for the same well the well was of exceeding depeness." *Its depth seemed to have occasioned, a century later, an effort to obtain water more readily, for the mem. proceeds:* "Item, in the time of H. VIII. came ii. moynes (miners?) out of the fforest of Deane to my lord, and promised to have some water within vij. ffodoms, and digged viij. fothms in the space of viii. dayes, and at the first spade depenes the (they) fond nothyng but mere marle that could not be dygged with no spade but pyked with a mattock and taken out with spoones and so for lacke of comfort of water they had dygged as the seyd the left dygging and said the never dygged so long in so drie a ground."

This account agrees, but not altogether, with an entry in Worswick's small book, now Salt MS. 369, which says that "in the tyme of Henry the Fourth there was a wheele made at Stafford Castle that cost fifty-three shillings, and two cable ropes that cost twenty-six shillings, and that there was a well there in digging, and by that it appeareth the well to be of exceeding deepnesse."

The persons now in charge of the Castle are supplied with drinking water from a neighbouring farm, and with other water from the roof of the Castle. The well above spoken of has long been disused; shaped stones that had once formed the staircase entry on the west of the castle had been placed around its mouth to protect it and prevent accidents, but owing to the careless or wilful acts of visitors these stones were removed or found a resting place at the bottom of the well; and the well, it seems, is now covered with rapidly decaying timber. The well lies below not far from the Castle on its north-eastern side.

With respect to the Free Chapel in the "Castre," as its existence at an early date, and the language used respecting it in early documents were necessary elements for the solution of questions relating to the chronology of the Baronial Castle, and this is confounded by many with that of the King's Castle, the

course of my narrative has compelled me to anticipate much of what otherwise would fall here into its more proper place. From what I before said, this Free Chapel would seem to have been originally founded by one of the earlier chiefs of the Norman race, and in the eleventh century that it was their chapel for the use of their immediate dependents; that it was close to, although not perhaps immediately within, the walls of the feudal residence; that its chaplain was, like others of a similar character, immediately dependent upon the Barons themselves and not upon the Diocesan. After the attainder of the last Duke the patronage must have escheated to the King. It appears from the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" to have been classed amongst the possessions within the Deanery of St. Mary Stafford, and the "Verus valor" of all the Prebends, Rectories, Vicarages, Hospitals, Free Chapels, and Chantries within the Collegiate Church of St. Mary of exempt jurisdiction at Stafford, says amongst other things:—

"Libera Capella infra¹ Castrum Stafford: Johannes Apharry Magister ibidem percipit communibus annis de decimis herbagii 1s. summa (*sic*), of which the tithe is called 5s."

This formal entry of the sum of the value of course is erroneous, but the tithe (5s.) gives one indirectly.²

The old Chapel was in a ruinous state in 1348, when the masons contracted to build a new one; not, as I have said, perhaps upon the same spot, and it had been previously confounded with Castle Church in a litigation between the convents of Kenilworth and Stone.

When the Free Chapels and Chantries were dissolved in Edward VI.'s reign, the tithes were with other similar proceeds in and around Stafford and Castle Church granted to the Duke's son Henry, the first restored Lord.

It will again come under consideration in the Duke's Escheat.

¹ In medieval Latinity the preposition "infra" is commonly used in the sense of "intra." See Duchesne's gloss: *in voce* "infra."

² The error seems corrected in the Salt MS., p. 6, which is a transcript from Gough's Stafford MSS. in the Bodleian, No. 3, *infra* p. 95.

THE PARISH AND ITS CHURCH.

The tenants in demesne (*in dominio*) of the feudal lords, and all who dwelt upon it, including those especially in the Castle itself, used, before free chapels were abolished, for all purposes except burials, the Chapel of St. Nicholas, which, as we have seen (*supra* pp. 21, 83), was a free chapel, situate "infra castellum." The patronage had been, at an early date, granted to the Priory of Kenilworth. The rest of the Manor of the Castle, viz., the part held "in servitio," was subverted from an epoch probably still more remote, by the church afterwards called Castle Church,¹ but styled as early as the time of Henry III., the Church of St. Mary in the Castle. Its proximity to this fortress, and a name calculated to mark it, have led to some confusion between chapel and church.

The patronage of the church long belonged to the Dean of the free chapel of the King in Stafford, so that its history is closely connected with that of the Royal Chapel, and can, it is believed, be rarely traced in the evidences at Lichfield, any more than can that of the Royal Chapel, except where disputes may have arisen as to patronage or authority.

The word parish, the first sense of which was derived from contiguity of houses, was not in the early centuries popularly employed with the precision of the present day. Thus the free chapel of the King was parochial according to the Inquisitions of the Nones, for the jurors are therein called its "parochiani" [Inq. Non., p. 128], and the lesser Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Castle is also said in the Stafford papers at the Castle to have had a parish, although neither at the time was subject to the Ordinary. The same remark would in early days apply to the district served by the Church of St. Mary below the Castle; it belonged to the Royal Chapel, and this was exempt from the diocesan authority.

Spelman and those who followed him, in the seventeenth century, in their lists of places, vills, and manors, specify Stafford Castle, but also name parts of its manor as if distinct from it; so we find Forebridge, Burton, and Rickardescote thus separately named. Rowley and Silkmore, however, are not there mentioned at all (see Adams' "Index Villaris," fo. 1680), but have been styled Manors in I. P. MS.; before we may presume them to have been

¹ So John Peploe is, in a register of this Church (*ad annum* 1729), mentioned as Curate Ecclesiæ parochialis *vulgo dictæ* "Castle." The first page of the oldest register, the Vicar's, faintly preserves the ancient dedication to St. Mary's. [U.]

comprised under either Castle Manor or Forbridge. The parish of St. Mary beneath the Castle embraced all land in the manor that was not demesne.¹

If we do not hear much of a parish here before the sixteenth century, it need not make us wonder, for not until the Royal Free Chapel of St. Mary's, Stafford, was dissolved, had St. Mary's in the Castle an independent existence. In the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*" it is counted amongst the "*Spiritualia*" of the Deanery of the Royal Chapel, and is there called the Church *beneath* the Castle,² as if to prevent confusion.

This Church of St. Mary in the Castle (now known as Castle Church) belonged to the Royal Free Chapel of St. Mary, Stafford from the Conquest ("*Staff. Coll.*," Vol. 4, p. 113). The Staffords had nothing in it until they obtained the Royal Chapel in Stafford from Henry VI. in exchange for their Priory of Wootten Waven; and Staffords held it for nearly a century, that is until they lost it through the attainder of Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, *temp.* H. VIII. (A.D. 1521); it then returned, with Castle Church

¹ In our days the whole has been divided, for Church purposes, and Castle Church has lost two considerable districts; the one nearest to it has been formed into the parish called St. Thomas', while Forebridge and Rickerscote and Silkmore have been made into the new parish of St. Paul's. But "Castle Church" in the reign of Charles II. included all, for so Gregory King treats them. See Salt MS. 147 (formerly at Strawberry Hill), pp. 33 and 57.

² A name assigned to an object from its mere juxtaposition to another leads to uncertainty. Its identity may be guarded originally by words of limitation, but these become obliterated more or less by the curtailments of human speech. This church, now known as Castle Church, has been variously styled in different documents, and at different dates, St. Mary's in the Castle, the Church *infra* castellum, the Church *subtus* castellum, finally Castle Church. The first title distinguished it from the greater St. Mary's in Stafford, to which it belonged from the Conquest, and the last would seem to denote the use of the church by the residents in the Castle itself, a sense to which the more abbreviated designation well adapted itself; but such use could hardly have been earlier than the suppression of the Baron's free chapelry *infra* castellum, *temp.* E. VI. The expression "*subtus* castellum" is applied in the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*," as I have said in the text, to Castle Church; whereas the Chapel of St. Nicholas is called therein the Chapel "*infra*" castellum. (See p. 84 in notes.) These prepositions will be now used to distinguish them. Both church and chapel appear to have coexisted in the eleventh century, and to have had different founders. A reference to extant evidences show them to have had also different patrons at early dates, the Staffords having the patronage of the chapelry, and the Royal Chapel in the county town having that of the church, although on one occasion the third feudal chief had wrongfully disposed of the Church ("*Staff. Coll.*," Vol. IV., p. 113). The endowment of the latter was four times that of the former. A still greater difference was this, that St. Nicholas was a free chapelry, and the church only part of the endowments of a free chapelry.

and other dependencies, to the Crown. So it continued until, by virtue of the Acts 37 H. VIII., c. 4, and 1 E. VI., c. 14 (1547), all colleges, churches, and free chapels and chantries were suppressed. From that time the Free Collegiate Chapel of St. Mary's, Stafford, and its dependent, St. Mary's below the Castle, as also the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Castle, came to be directly dealt with by the last mentioned Statutes and by the Crown; St. Nicholas was absolutely suppressed, and its tithes given to Henry Lord Stafford, son of the Duke; St. Mary's, Stafford, became the Rectory of St. Mary's, Stafford, and the Castle Church, or Church of St. Mary beneath the Castle, became a perpetual Curacy, its connection with St. Mary's, Stafford, being at an end.

When St. Nicholas' Chapel, which had been the demesne chapel of the Staffords, was suppressed, the Staffords in the Castle naturally used for their devotions the nearest church to the Castle. This had been from the Conquest the proper church of the other tenants, those not in the demesne of the manor. But after the suppression we find Staffords mentioned in the registers, and one, Edward Lord Stafford, great-grandson of the attainted Duke, was actually buried in Castle Church, although almost all of the other earlier and later Staffords were buried elsewhere, viz., the earlier Barons and Earls, with two exceptions, at Stone; the three Dukes near where they fell, all by violent deaths; the first restored Baron Henry at Caus, and his lineal male descendant of the same name Henry, at Arundel.

That many Stafford monuments did not and do not appear in this ancient and interesting church "beneath the Castle," is explained by the fact that the Staffords did not until after the attainder of the Duke much reside in its vicinity, and if two monuments are spoken to by Loxdale as being there in the first half of the last century, this is explained by the fact of a residence there of some of the Lords and other members of the restored family.

Loxdale saw a shield on the exterior of the west tower window stonework, in which the Stafford chevron impaled the Nevill saltire. He saw also the same arms in stone as well as those of Poole, on the inside at the east end, which he evidently means although he says the north end. Mr. Nightingale also speaks to the arms of Stafford and Nevill on the outside.

The first shield, Stafford and Nevill, evidently refers to the alliance of Humfrey Earl of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Buck-

ingham, with Anne Neville, daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland. The last restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1845 is understood to have preserved all the features of the ancient church, and this shield amongst them (and such also is the opinion of the Rev. Edward Allen, the present Vicar). [App. U.] The Poole arms also spoken to by Mr. Loxdale as in the inside of the church, seem, however, no longer to exist. It would allude to the alliance of Stafford with Ursula Plantagenet, daughter of that unfortunate Princess the Marchioness of Salisbury. Ursula survived her husband, he dying at Caus, A.D. 1562, and she dying A.D. 1569 (see the inquest on her death, 2 Eliz., *m.* 91). Both had survived their sister Elizabeth, the Duchess of Norfolk.

No document is likely to be found contradicting the verdict, *temp.* H. III., "Staff. Coll.," Vol. IV., p. 113, which tells that St. Mary's beneath the Castle had existed from the Conquest as a dependence of the Royal Chapel in Stafford, dedicated to the same saint. And as this Royal foundation is also alluded to under its "Canons Prebendaries" in Domesday Book as before having been King Edward's, this dependence may be assumed as also having existed as foundation in that Saxon King's time. Thus Castle Church has had, we may say, four distinguishing epochs. First, perhaps under the Saxon Earls or Kings; secondly, under the early Norman Sovereigns, when certainly it was a dependence of their Royal Chapel; thirdly, in the fifteenth century, under the Dukes of the Stafford race, who had succeeded to the King's rights in the chapel and dependencies in exchange for their Priory of Wotton Waven, co. Warwick; lastly, on the attainder of the last Duke, and their falling again into the hands of the King, we come to the fourth epoch in the history of Castle Church, for the dissolution of the Royal Chapel, as of all other free chapels not long afterwards, left Castle Church independent, and the residents of the Castle *without* their separate free chapel. Then the restored Barons when at the Castle, perhaps, used the nearest neighbouring place of worship, *i.e.*, Castle Church, for their devotions, although they never had the patronage, and so the parish was occasionally treated and spoken of under the joint names, as the parish of Castle Church and St. Nicholas. At least it is so entitled in the Royal Compositions (*supra*, p. 53). I should not, however, be surprised if it turned out here, as at the Duke's other residence at Thornbury, that he and his family having also there their chapel with an adjacent church, used both (*infra*, p. 106, *n.*).

Of a Parish of Castle Church and the structure itself little has been found *eo nomine*, until the time of the second Tudor, when Thomas Stamford of Rowley is said to have been buried in the churchyard of Castle Church. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. III., Part 2, p. 136.)

The Church, restored in 1841,¹ appeared to the architect, Sir Gilbert Scot, to have marks of great antiquity in chancel and nave. In 1817 Mr. Pitt had spoken of it "as an ancient edifice, composed of brick on the one side, and stone, and as whitewashed on the other, with a stone tower. Of what it was at the close of the previous century we have a probably very faithful, though rude, representation amongst the unpublished plates of Stebbing Shaw's History."²

The "Annals of the Diocese of Lichfield," Vol. IV., p. 51, cite the following entry from the Inventory of Church Goods, 6 E. VI., *i.e.*, of "Castelchurche:" Fyrste, one alter clothe, ij. hanginges for the alter, one oll whyte satten, the other of painted clothe, one cope of bleu satten, one vestement of dornes,³ one olde vestement of red & blewe sylke, one vestement of whyte diaper, one albe, one towell, iiij. belles & on sanctus bell. Also ther was at the makynge of the laste inventorey, one pyxe of silver, by estimacion iiij. unces, the whiche William Stanforde of Rowley dyd cleame as his owne & so had it from the parish. Md. that thes parcels followynge were stolne furthe of the sayde church at Christmas beinge in the vth yere of the reygne of our Soverayane Lord King Edw. the Syxte, *i.e.*, one chalice of sylver parcell gylte, one corporas with a case, ij. alter clothes, ij. albes, a surples & ij. towells.

The earliest Register Book of St. Mary's, Castle Church, is a small folio of parchment in a stitched parchment cover; the first page is very faint. The earliest entry is of the year 1567, after the Church had become independent of St. Mary's, Stafford. In the year mentioned John Cockes is recorded as "Curate."

¹ To this the present Vicar, the Rev. Edward Allen, bears testimony.

² Mr. Nightingale had previously said, in his "History of Staffordshire," of this Church, "Its architecture is various. The north side" (does he mean the east side?) "which is older than any other part of it, is distinguished by a plain arch of a circular form and a round-headed window. Its southern division has been lately rebuilt of brick. The tower, which is somewhat more modern, is ornamented on the west side with a coat of arms, the same as on the Lady Stafford's mantle exhibited in Plate XXII. of Shaw's "History."

³ Darnex, linsey-wolsey; Halliwell, "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words."

From the above date the volume records the names of residents in this parish. Some are of interest as connected with members of the restored Baronial House of Stafford, and others as names of then residents here or as connected with parochial incidents of more or less interest. Of the latter, one emphasizes the deplorable emoluments in the times immediately following the dissolution of the colleges and free chapels of the minister of this enfranchised Church. In the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*" the value of the Spiritualia arising out of the Church "*subtus castellum*," and affected to the Deanery of Stafford, had amounted to a sum seeming now nominally small, but which is often regarded as the equivalent of £1,000 per annum. The Curates of Castle Church were not to obtain any part of this. That took a different non-ecclesiastical direction, so that the aid of the Governors of the Queen Anne's Bounty had to be afterwards applied to for an augmentation of Castle Church.

In the intermediate time during the Commonwealth the meagreness of his resources was made the subject of complaint and petition by the then (1658) Minister John Lineal, the author of an acrostic poem addressed "To his Highnesse Richard by God's providence the second Lord Protector of our Common Wealth, etc."¹

How the Curates were at first maintained does not appear, unless in the way provided by 1 E. VI., c. 14, s. 8, but on the 21st January, 1656-7, Oliver Cromwell granted by letters of Privy Seal [Dep. Keeper, 5th Report, App. II., p. 260], to "John Lyneall, Curate of Castlechurch, in Staffordshire, xx*li*. in full satisfaction of the arrears of viij*li*. per annum due to him as Curate there for two years and a half, ended 29th September last."

Some mention may be made of names occurring in the earlier Registers. To begin with the noble restored House of Stafford, they are silent as to Henry, the first Lord (he died at Caus in Shropshire), but they name his seneschal and "*scribarius*," Stephen Norris, who was buried here in 1564; the interment of his son Lord Henry, Knight, is commemorated 1st January, 1565-6, "*ab hac luce migravit apud Stafford Castell & sepultus fuit in hâc ecclesia*." Some Staffords of this line are entered in the Register. Of other

¹ Each letter in the title of the poem becomes in its turn the commencement of one of the 147 verses which compose it. The following lines then conclude the composition:—

"Your Highnesse suppliant humbly in the Lord,
John Lineal, Preacher of God's sacred word

residents the following names occur: Adams (husband of Sarah Salt, 1697), Adderley, Adshead, Anson, Aston, Barbor, Bayley, Berington, Beterton, Bickerton, Carelesse, Chamberlane *alias* Backhouse, Chomley (Cholmondeley) Clarke, Cockes (John, Curate), Collins, Dickenson, Dovey (of Ricarscote), Drakeford (of Forbridge), Eardswick (Sampson son of John), Foxe (of Rowley), Gonway, Gouldsmith, Harcourt, Hervey, Humptbach, Keen, Lees, Lineall John (Minister), Lyttelton, Macclesfield, Norris, Palmer, Pursley, Salt, Spooner, Sutton, Talbot, Thorley, Whitgreave (of Burton very often), Whitmore, Yornall. [U.]

Christenings and interments are sometimes mentioned as celebrated at St. Mary's, Stafford, or at Stafford. A child upon one occasion is christened at Bradeley. Mention is made of Thomas Salt the son of Richard Salt and C[lem]aunce his wife, as christened at Billyngton Chapel in 1600.

The Registers afford materials for a complete list of the Curates (the Act of E. VI. makes them perpetual Curates or Vicars) from the commencement of the independence of the Church; the first name being John Cockes. Afterwards and in later times officiating Ministers are spoken of, and it may be not easy to distinguish these always from the Incumbents proper. Once at least the Church itself was held by a Rector of St. Mary's, Stafford, and the officiating Minister may have been the latter's Curate. [U.]

The Ecclesiastical Census for 1676 [Salt MS. 33] tells us that in Castle Church there then were 171 Conformists, 7 Papists, and 2 Non-Conformists, which number would seem to omit children under sixteen years of age.

The Register Book in a memorandum on the fly leaf shows the

At Castle Church, a place in Staffordshire,
Where he receiveth eight pounds by the year,
Which he hath truly in Exchequer pay,
For which he thanks your Highnesse night and day.
He aged is full threescore yeares and ten,
A long time now to live with mortall Men,
His wife also is threescore yeares and one,
That Stipend poor they still do live upon.
Now if your Highnesse would be so much pleas'd,
That his eight pounds to forty pound be rais'd,
He thinks that he should live with more content,
Then hundred pounds thrice (*sic*) some receive in rent,
Though 's (*sic*) stipend he but eight pounds by the year,
Which he receives for feeding souls so dear,
Yet his poor Tallent he will never hide,
In verse he writes, yet God is still his guide."

gross number of inhabitants every ten years from 1821 to 1851. They were respectively, 1,118, 1,374, 1,479, and 2,315. The last number is made up of 490 for Castle Church, 1,140 for Forebridge and Queensville, 175 for Rickerscote, and 515 for Newtown. But in 1861 the whole parish contained 3,362, and in 1871, 5,581, and in 1881, 5,923 inhabitants. [U.]

The Tithe Reference Book furnishes data as to ownership and occupancy and division of the parish in 1844. At that date the whole area of 3,784 acres which it contains appears divided into 1,224 parts, inclusive of land held under certain public trusts, such as the Grammar School, the Road Trusts, and Forbridge Liberty and certain charities. About 113 proprietors are named, and about 2,310 occupiers, say 700 families.

Nor are those Tithe Reference Books, with their Tithe Maps, without utility or interest to the topographical or philological inquirer.

The greatest number of field names here as elsewhere, are derived from nature of the land as :—Sandy Flat, Hunger Hill, Rough, Rising Brook. *Culture*, as Shepherd Piece, Barley Field. *Distance or nearness*, as Outland, inland. *Proximity to other object*, as Castle Field, Causeway Meadow, Broad Eye Meadow. *Use*, Swan's Nest, Wash Pit Leasow, Brook Flat, Marl Pit. *Applications*, Doles, Butts, Commons, Stockings. *Size*, Big or little. *Shape*, Slang, triangle, nook. *Elevation*, Hough. *Change*, Intake. *Animals*, Foxfield, Horseleyfield. *Distinctive mark*, as One Oak Field. *Vegetation*, Ferney Flat, Broomley, Aldenpole, Moss Pit, Sallow Croft, Ash Flat. Some names are less intelligible: Potrake End Meadow, Minors Grave, Raddle Hill, Picklestitch, Bur Leys.¹ Rose Ford Meadow is a changed name for Rowe's Ford Meadow. A few serve to illustrate occurrences or ancient sports or paths; thus one inclosure called Hern Hays, would indicate the heron's resort, and the sport which it afforded to the fowler. Again, the direction of Queen Elizabeth's progress from the Broad Eye to the Castle on the hill may have followed the line indicated by the "Lodge Fields;" the site or lands of the Hospital of St. Leonard's, by Spital Field and Chapel Leasow; those of the Austin Friars, by Friars' Ground, the Friars', etc. Nor do the closes to the north-west of the Castle, called Banky Meadow, and the Bagot Oaks

¹ *Raddle* seems to be from a Saxon root, and to imply wreathing or interlacing, as of hurdles, etc. *Bur* is of common use in Staffordshire for stones rough hewn, but for other meanings, see the dictionaries of Dr. Ash, etc.

between Rowley and Hyde Field, or Gallows Flat, seem without suggestive interest. So the lands which we have spoken of *supra*, pp. 41, 42, as at an early date appropriated to the Deanery of the Royal Chapel in Stafford, still retain names indicative of their ancient use, which led to their being classed in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" amongst the Temporalia of that Deanery, viz., Dean's Field, Dean's Hill Meadow, Dean's Croft.

Several local Acts have dealt with the land here.

Thus the road known as the Newport Road, leading from Stafford through a part of this parish in the direction of Haughton, has been considerably diverted, altered and widened, by the Act 33 Geo. III., c. 153, the Commissioners having been authorized to take the necessary land from adjoining owners. The necessity for the Act appeared from the insecure state of the roads, and the want of fords or bridges, as well as the frequent inundations. The same Act provided for similar changes with respect to the road from Stafford to Churchbridge. It appeared from the same Act that the owner of the Silkmore Farm had theretofore been liable to repair that part of the last turnpike road between the Spital Brook and Radford Bridge.

Of the Castle Church bells, the two of three which remain are thus inscribed: "God save Queen Ann. A.R. By Silkmore Goldsmith wee preserved were."

The open and common fields called Green Field and Green Common, and Marsh Meadow and waste lands in Forebridge and Parish of Castle Church, having been more or less subject to be overflowed, and on that account yielding little profit to those interested therein, and in their then state being incapable of improvement, at the beginning of this century an Act was passed, the 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 58, by virtue of which were enclosed, drained, and embanked the Common fields, Marsh Meadow, and waste lands in Forebridge and Parish of Castle Church, by which also they were divided and allotted in certain convenient portions to the different parties concerned, two enclosures being reserved for the general use of the parishioners.

This Act treats Forbridge as a *Manor* and a *Liberty*, pp. 20–25, and speaks of the highways and other roads within the *Liberties* of Burton and Rickerscote, p. 23.

The land dealt with involved the interests not only of the Lord of the Manor, but of the mill owners and occupiers and parishioners, and the Act respected their rights. Thomas Anson and John Moore were then tithe holders in Rickerscote and Burton.

MANORIAL CHAPELS AND HOSPITALS.

Who will not be pardoned for supposing Bethenei and its vicinity to have been in Saxon times a religious centre of importance, comparatively speaking? To this supposition the very name Bethenei (Latin form, Bethania), as well as the legends of two Saints seem to give support. A Hermitage or Oratory is spoken to in them. A Collegiate Church existed certainly in Edward the Confessor's reign, having, in Saxon times even, more than double the number of Canons that Lichfield had at the Conquest. Bethenei had besides a mother church dedicated to her Hermit Saint, St. Bertelin,¹ and a parish church dedicated to his contemporary Saint, St. Chad.

A place not far off, Bishton (Bishopstown), connected somehow the whole neighbourhood with services of ecclesiastical life.

No wonder then that the inquirer finds a larger body of religious men existing here and in its neighbourhood in the first half of the twelfth century, than now minister to the necessities of a far greater population. The Grey Monks² were at Yarlet ("Staffordshire Collection," Vol. II., p. 50), and some have thought that the Templars had possessions in Burton, relying upon an ancient list in "Monast. Angl.," Vol. II., p. 533, of dubious application.

It seems not unlikely that at an early date there existed in the Borough town some religious infirmary, and that this was afterwards removed to Forbridge (*see infra*). We meet also with the designation of Marey le Eremite. Of the foundation of the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Castle we know not precisely the date.

And a leper house, called of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, was found extant in the reign of Henry III., although in the state of decay recorded of so many institutions of the same class in the reigns of the earlier Angevin Princes, for which see the index to the "Rot. Parl."

Loxdale, and after him Dr. Wilkes and Richard Gough, cite from documents in the Augmentation Office [Wilkes, Salt MS.,

¹ St. Berthelin's Day is named in early charters of the Priory of St. Thomas the Martyr's as a day for payment of rents. (See "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. VIII., Part I.)

² Roger Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury being Domesday owner of the manors of Yarlet and Marston (Erlhide and Mersetone), near Stafford, whilst he gave lands in the latter to the Church of St. Evroult in Normandy, sheltered monks of the shortlived order of Savigni (Grey Monks) in Yarlet. See the tenancy *in capite* of Roger in the Domesday of Staffordshire, and Ord. Vit., Book 5, c. 13, and Book 6, c. 4.

Gough's "Transcript of Charters relating to Stafford" in the Bodleian, pp. 70-76] various details respecting the churches, chapels, and hospitals of Stafford and Castle Church. After mentioning that the church called the Castle Church, and that of St. Bertelin, as well as the Chapels of Hopton, Marston, and Salt, were all members belonging to the College of Stafford, served by priests ministering at the charge of the Dean and certain of the Prebendaries; here is what these documents say of the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas within the Castle, and of the Free Chapels of St. Leonard and St. John the Baptist:—

"The Free Chapel of St. Nicholas, founded (*supra*, pp. 18, 22, 23) time out of mind, by whom it is unknown; of one priest, perpetually to celebrate and to minister in the said chapel to all the inhabitants of the said Castle as if it were a parish church, in all things except burial, which hath been always at the Church of Stafford. The yearly value [at the time of the suppression itself] consisting wholly of tythes, £5 16s. 8*d.* Plate or goods, none.

"The Free Chapel of St. Leonard by Forbridge beside Stafford, commonly called the Spittle Chapel, founded by Ralph, sometime Earl of Stafford, for perpetual finding of one priest perpetually to celebrate, and also for relief of poor people. But no poor people have been there relieved these twenty years past. The yearly value, £7 2s.; reprises, 2s. 2*d.*; remains, £6 19s. 10*d.* One bell in the end of the Chapel. Plate or goods, none.

"The Free Chapel of St. John the Baptist in Forbridge beside Stafford, commonly called the Hospital, founded sometime by Ralph Earl of Stafford (as it is supposed), to have one incumbent perpetually to celebrate there, and to have four poor people there sustained. But howbeit no poor people have been sustained there within five years before the 4th day of November last past, nor of long time before. The yearly value, £10 2s. 8*d.*; reprises, 2s. 6*d.*; remains, £10 0s. 2*d.* Plate, parcel-gilt, five ounces; ornaments, 3s. 10*d.* Two bells in the end of the chapell."

Such was the condition of these hospitals at the time of their dissolution, *temp.* Hen. VIII. Their foundation charters have not been met with. More is known as to the Austin Friars. The King of his especial grace, by his Patent 18 E. III., Part II., *m.* 33, granted and gave licence to Ralph Baron of Stafford, Steward of his Household, to found—in honour of Jesus Christ and the glorious Virgin Mary His mother, and the blessed Augustin and all the Saints of God, and for the healthful state of

himself and Margaret his wife¹ and their children, and of Humfrey de Hastang, Archdeacon of Coventry, whilst they should continue in this life, and of their souls when they should have departed this life, and the souls of their ancestors and their heirs, and of all faithful men deceased—a certain house of Hermit Friars of the Order of St. Augustin, in Forbrugge near Stafford, and licence also to give and assign to the Priors and Friars to be appointed in the house by the same Ralph, five acres of land with appurtenances in the same town, holden by himself of the King *in capite* as parcel of the Barony of Stafford (as is shown by an inquisition taken thereupon, and returned into the King's Chancery), for building a church and other proper dwellings for their inhabitation there. And the King moreover granted licence to the aforesaid Archdeacon to give and assign to the same Prior and Friars a certain fountain in the same town of Forebrugge holden immediately of the said Baron (as by the same inquisition returned into the King's Chancery likewise appears), for a certain subterraneous aqueduct to be made to their church and house aforesaid, therewith to hold to the same Prior and Friars and their successors, together with the aforesaid five acres of land and the appurtenances, in pure and perpetual alms. And the King gave also especial licence thereby to the same Prior and Friars to receive the aforesaid land and fountain, with the appurtenances, from the aforesaid Baron and Archdeacon, and to build a church and other dwellings for their inhabitation there, as also the conduit aforesaid, and hold the same to them and their successors for ever in pure and perpetual alms as aforesaid; and they were not, by reason of the Statute of Mortmain, or because the land was held of the King *in capite* as aforesaid, to be hindered or in any way molested or aggrieved by the King or his heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other bailiffs or ministers whatsoever.

About the year 1361 John Bakehouse and Cecily his wife were received into the fraternity of the Order of the Friars Eremites of St. Austin of Stafford, by the act of John their local Prior. (Harl. MS. 2042-2926.) The value of such a reception to the fraternity seems considerable, if we may judge by entries in the

¹ Dugdale ("Baronage," Vol. I., p. 161) cites an original charter (*penes* Earl Elgin) eighteen years prior to the patent above recited, from which it would seem that Ralph was twice married, and that Ralph's foundation was for the soul also of his first wife, Katherine, and for the soul of Sir Humphrey Hastang; the patent above recited speaks of but one wife, Margaret; she was heiress of Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester, but Doyle's "Official Baronage," Vol. III., p. 385, mentions the two wives.

"Valor Ecclesiasticus," Vol. III., p. 168. Under the Commonwealth, A.D. 1654, Henry Brandreth, he having four years previously paid the purchase money, is certified as grantee of an annual rent, or tenth reserved from the respective tenants for the site of the Priory of St. Augustine, viz., £xiii. iii.s. ij.d. ob. (Salt MS., "Royal Compositions," Vol. I., p. 437.)

According to Leland, "Itin.," Vol. VII., p. 28, both the Hospital of St. John the Baptist and the Austin Hermit Friars stood upon the Green at Forbrugge. To the latter the images that lay upon the alabaster tombs of the Staffords, he tells us, were removed from Stone Abbey after its suppression.

Of the antiquity of a hospital called St. John of Stafford there can be no doubt. A Hospital of St. John existed as early as the year 1208, when Hugh fitz Ralph remitted by fine to Eudo, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Stafford, forty acres in Castel. ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. III., p. 173.¹) King Henry III., in the seventh year of his reign ("Close Rolls," ed. Hardy, fo. 1832, p. 536), granted to this hospital thirty waggon loads of wood from the Forest of Cannock.

Half a century afterwards we find the Master of this hospital engaged (Pat. 51 H. III., *m.* 9, *in dorso*) in litigation about a

¹ This seems too early for the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Forebridge, and yet a Hospital of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem would command a co-extensive title, however true that Robert the father of Miliscent, had, as Dugdale ("Baronage," p. 156) says, "undergone" a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Again, it is noteworthy that forty acres in Castel was also the number mentioned as appropriated in the same manor to the Royal Deanery, and that the present foundation of the Royal Chapel of St. Mary, Stafford, is by some referred to King John (Salt Transcript of Gough MS., Bodleian, p. 4). The above fine is important to show that Castel was here a manor name as early at least as the middle of King John's reign, and not so far from the date of the convention between the two other Kings, in consequence of which so many baronial castles were demolished (*supra*, p. 18). Castel near Stafford is also spoken of as a vill in Patents 9 E. I., 13, *dorso*, and 12 Edw. I., *m.* 10. If this Hospital of St. John of Stafford is really not that of Forebridge, it would seem to have been suppressed soon afterwards, and the forty acres to have been otherwise appropriated; but some explanation is wanting; at all events the Royal Chapel had appropriated to it from remote date forty acres in this parish; and a Hospital of St. John had their claim also to "forty acres" recognized by Hugh fitz Ralph in the above fine. (*Confer.* Sir Simon Degge's enumeration of the lands that belonged to St. Leonard's Spital, "Chetw. Coll.," Vol. II., p. 101, n. 2.) Footnote, p. 101, *infra*.

² A Wymar long held the King's Pool. Adam Wymar was procurator for the King (Pat. Roll, 45 H. III., *m.* 6) concerning his free chapel, the Dean and Canons having to defray Wymar's claim for labour and expenses touching their own affairs. As to other members of this family of Wymar (*see supra*, pp. 44, 45).

tenement in Forbrugge, with William Wymar² and Ralph his son, and about a tenement in a suburb of Stafford with Henry le Freyster. (Pat. 54 H. III., *m.* 17, *dorso*; *m.* 24; and see *supra*, p. 50.) So A.D. 1270, the defendants in the last suit appear as plaintiffs in a cross action against the Prior of Forbrugge (Pat. 54 H. III., *m.* 4); and in the latter suit the plaintiff is called Peter, custodian of the Hospital of St. John near the Bridge of Stafford, and he is suing for a tenement in the Forthe. . . . (? Forthebridge).

In the next reign we find tenements in Roulowe in dispute between Richard de Roulowe and Peter, Prior of St. John near Stafford; also land in Forbrugge near Stafford disputed between Richard de Burton, Clerk, and Roger de Baggeworth, Master of the same hospital. (Pat. 5 E. I., *m.* 9, *in dorso*.)

Later, by Patent 9 E. I., *m.* 11, *in dorso*, tenements in Roweleye are claimed by William de la Wrosene against Petronilla de la Wrosene and Richard Wadell. Again in the same year (*m.* 4, *in dorso*) Walter atte Havendon raises a question of right concerning tenements in the same place.

Later, by Patent 17 E. III., *m.* 14, *in dorso*, a suit was pending between Will de Levedale and the Prior of the same hospital, touching tenements in Stafford, and between the said William and Hawisia, once wife of William Raulet, touching tenements in Forbrugge.

In one, placitum 22 E. I. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VII., p. 121), the plaintiff John de Haseleye, Master of St. John the Baptist near the Bridge of Stafford, claimed a house and a carucate of land and 40s. rent, describing them as arising from property in a suburb of Stafford. But Edmund Baron Stafford answered as tenant, and said that John was no longer Master, having been deposed from his authority by the Ordinary, and another, Richard, appointed Master in his stead, on the said Baron's presentation, which Richard having been similarly deposed, another, Roger, who was now Master, had been presented also upon his presentation. The jury said that John was not Master, nor ever was, because he never had anything but a certain livery.¹

The Patent Roll 25 E. I., *m.* 3, *in dorso*, shows Richard de

¹ The Baron had also denied that the property was in Stafford or any suburb, but contended that it was in Bradeley, which it then undoubtedly was; whereas Foregate, which adjoins Stafford on its opposite (north) side, had been some years previously in the same reign adjudged to be a suburb of Stafford, and geldable therewith. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VI., Part I., p. 287.)

Burton, Clerk, claiming (1296-7) tenements in Forbrugge near Stafford, against Roger de Baggeworth, Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist near the Bridge of Stafford, and John de Baggeworth. (*See also p. 50, supra.*)

Later, by Patent 26 E. III. (A.D. 1352-3), Part I., *m.* 9, the King gave licence to Ralph Earl of Stafford to grant to the Master and brethren of the same hospital of St. John near Stafford, 100*s.* in rent, with appurtenances, in the town of Stafford, which, *as it was said*, was not held of the King *in capite*, to have and to hold to the Master and brethren and their successors, to find a certain chaplain to celebrate divine service, every day, according to an ordinance to be made in that behalf, for ever. And the King licensed the same Master and brethren that they might be able to receive the rent aforesaid with the appurtenances from the said Earl, and hold the same to them and their successors for ever, the Statute of Mortmain notwithstanding. The King moreover was unwilling that the Earl or his heirs, or the aforesaid Master or brethren or their successors should, by reason of the said statute, be hindered or molested by his heirs or his ministers whatsoever therein, saving nevertheless to the other chief lords of that fee the services theretofore due or accustomed.

The early existence of a Hospital of St. Lazarus of Retford is certified to us by three records, of which Dugdale and Tanner apparently were not aware. Taking these in the order of time, by a fine passed before the Justices in Eyre in the 39th of Hen. III. (A.D. 1254-5), *m.* 161, after duel waged in the same Court, a compromise was arrived at between Walter Master of the hospital, who appeared by brother William de Brerelacton, complainant, and Hugh de Lokesay, tenant, as to the right to two crofts with appurtenances in Silkemer, the aforesaid Master acknowledging them to be the right of Hugh, and Hugh paying the Master half a mark of silver, and granting also to him half of the said land, that is the half nearest to the land of the hospital, to hold to the Master and his successors and the brethren of the aforesaid hospital of the aforesaid Hugh and his heirs, in pure and perpetual alms for ever, so that it should be lawful for the Master, his successors and brethren, to inclose the aforesaid moiety with a ditch and hedge, and to make thereof their profit at their will, without let or impediment of the same Hugh or his heirs for ever, with Hugh's warranty therefor, and without any services on the side of the hospital; the other half of the said land to remain

to Hugh and his heirs for ever, to hold of the chief lords of that fee by the service pertaining to the fee.¹

A few years afterwards, that is on the 17th October, 42 H. III., m. 2, apparently the same hospital, by the name of the Hospital of Lepers of the Holy Sepulchre of Retford outside Stafford, have the King's Letters of Protection to last for five years.

But the times seem to have been bad for Prince, Peers, and Commons, and the county sided with the Barons against the King, and not long afterwards comes the proof that the letters of protection had not stood them in much stead, for by an inquisition *ad quod damnum* 29 E. I (1301-2), it appears that the following jurors, Stephen de Wyllaston (Wollaston), Robert de Mareys, Robert de Lutewode, Richard Godfrey, William Sturvel, William the Clerk of Weston, Walter Robert de Bykeford, Richard the Clerk of Barton, Richard Kyry of Rickardescote, Peter de Colchester, and William le Bedel of Sondon, found that it was not to the damage of the King or any other person, if the King gave license to Edmund² Baron of Stafford to grant the Hospital of St. John of Stafford in which the brethren and sisters have been accustomed to dwell, and allow the Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre of Roteford, in which lepers and other poor and infirm people have been accustomed to reside, to the Minister and Brethren of the Order of the Holy Trinity of Tevelesford; to have and to hold to them and their successors, with all things to the same hospitals pertaining, for ever. Also they said that the Priory of the said Hospital of St. John, and the Warden of the aforesaid Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre, were not accustomed to keep hospitality, nor were they burthened therewith except of their own free will, saving nevertheless that the Wardens of the aforesaid Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre were accustomed to receive lepers with goods and chattels; but they were not bound to support them unless at their own free will. They

¹ In a similar case of the Priory of St. John the Baptist, the service due to the Stafford Baron is specified to be the doing suit at the Court of Bradeley every three weeks, and that every man of the Master of the hospital should find a man, or substitute for himself, every year in autumn to reap the corn of the same Robert and his heirs, receiving only (in recompense) each his proper food. (See 32 H. III. 1247-8, m. 137.) This service contrasts favourably with that due from a tenant of St. Evroult in the manor of Marston, near Stafford. (See Gruecock's grant to the Friars Minors, Stafford, A.D. 1304-5, Inq. *ad quod damnum*, E. I., p. 230.)

² This Edmund Baron Stafford was buried in the ground of the Minorites in the Foregate. Remains enclosed in lead have recently been disinterred there. These some consider to be possibly the Baron's. He died in his 34th or 35th year, see Inquiry of Age, App. (I.).

also say that the Prior and the Warden of the said hospitals have been driven away from the said hospitals on account of their poverty and destitution; and the said Edmund is able to give and assign to the said Minister and brethren of the Order of the Holy Trinity aforesaid the said hospitals without doing injury to the said Prior, Warden, brethren and sisters, and infirm people. Also they say that the alms which in those hospitals were wont to be given, have been withheld on account of their poverty and destitution and for no other cause; and they say that the alms have been withdrawn since the feast of St. Martin in the 26th year of the reign of King Edward, and are still subtracted.¹

Again, upon the dissolution of the College of St. Mary's, the King settled part of lands (*ubi supra*, p. 32) upon the two chappels or hospitals of St. John in Forbridge and the free chapel of St. Leonard's, the spittle near Stafford, and tythes belonging to the Prebend of Stafford.

This is an interesting account of what appears to have been a more ancient leper house in Silkmere. The details are clear and explicit, and yet did that intended transfer to the community at Tevelesford ever take effect? We know anyhow this, that before the Reformation, two centuries later, there existed a leper house and chapel in Silkmere apparently in the vicinity or occupying the land of the former, but called by a different name, *i.e.*, the Hospital and Free Chapel of St. Leonard, the lands of which are now part of the endowment of the Grammar School at Stafford. The Fraternity of Tevelesford were called Maturins Trinitarians, and were instituted for the redemption of captives. (*See* Dugd. "Warw.," p. 393; "Monast. Angl.," Vol. II., p. 831); Leland "Itin.," Vol. IV., p. 66, says "it was a house of small possessions."²

However, the transfer proposed by Ralph Baron of Stafford coincides with what Rous of Warwick in his history says of similar foundations; for after explaining how the Priory of the Holy Sepulchre came to be founded, he tells us that it arose out of

¹ It will be seen hereafter that the heir to the said Edmund Baron Stafford, remised lands belonging to the Hospital of Retford at Selkmere to John de Wenlock.

² Sir Simon Degge's Collection, *apud* Chetwynd ("Chetwynd Staffordshire Collections now at Ingestre," Vol. II., p. 32), tells us as follows: "There was a small religious house in Rowley juxta Stafford, which had these grounds belonging to it, viz., the Gorsty Leasow, the Stange" (perhaps this should be Slang, one sense of which is "a long narrow piece of ground," as one sense of Stang is "a rood of land") (as to both, *see* Halliwell, "Archaisms and Provincialisms"), "the Chapell Leasow, nine acres in Greenfield in Rowley nuper Capella (*sic*), St. Leonardi; Minors Grayfield, St. John's Byreh."

the successes in Jerusalem; but after the repeated destruction of Jerusalem, almost all the houses of the Order vanished, and the indigence of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre ensued. He concludes with the words: "Horum modo proficium transfertur, cum privilegiis, ad ordinem fratrum S. Trinitatis cujus sunt fratres S. Roberti de Knarrisburg, Handlow, et *Telesford*, et multo alii." (See Dugd. "Mon.," Vol. II., p. 573.) Later we find, *temp.* Hen. V. Parliament petitioned on account of the unsatisfactory state and subtraction of alms from similar houses. ("Rot. Parl.," Vol. IV., p. 80.)

"The founders of useful charities," said Mr. Keen, in a pamphlet published at Stafford in 1808, "are gratefully remembered as the benefactors of mankind." The earlier benefactions in the Castle Manor which had been embodied in the foundations of free chapels and hospitals, did not wholly become obliterated with the suppression of these, or the downfall of the Staffords; much survived, taking a different, but still a charitable form.

Forebridge, which Dr. Wilkes said was famous in former times for the benefactions of the Staffords, has also through certain of its more recent inhabitants contributed its part to the general fund of charity. Although subsequent changes have, for general purposes, scholastic, rating, and election, &c., involved its history in that of the adjoining borough, they here deserve a note and reference.¹

It long possessed common rights in about 120 acres of land, but having been found inconvenient for use and culture, and subject to frequent flooding, portions of these were allotted by 39 and 40 Geo. III. to certain persons in respect of their several interests. A remnant of this still remains available, under the names of the Green Field and Green Common, to certain occupiers and parishioners, claiming by custom.

Simon Fowler charged his leasehold premises at Rule, by will dated 11th April, 1663, with the payment of 40s. per year for the use of poor persons, inhabitants of Forebridge. He devised also his

¹ The names are those of Mr. Roger Hinton, formerly of Rickarscote; Thomas Goldsmith, and Thomas Backhouse, *alias* Chamberlain. (As to these charities, see the pamphlet above mentioned by Mr. Keen; see also the "Charities in the County of Stafford," selected from the voluminous Parliamentary Reports from 58 George III. to 7 William IV., published 1839; also "Analytical Digest of Reports of Charities, &c., in Staffordshire, 1843," pp. 10 and 34; see also "Analytical Digest of Charities," *ibid.*, as to the Free School, Forebridge, founded by will of P. Bridgman, regulated by decree of Common Charity Uses, 1826, for poor children of the township of Forebridge, and the income of which, A.D. 1824, was £15, and the number of children taught fifty-three. (See remarks of Rev. E. Allen, App. U.)

land, &c., at "Risan" brook (except the fishponds and liberties, to get clay and clods upon the premises for the necessary repair thereof), after the death of Ann his wife, to Margaret Backhouse, widow, his daughter, and her heirs, they paying for ever 40s. for the use of the poor of Forebridge.

Fifty years ago Mr. John Moore of the Toft near Stafford, was owner of the property called Risingbrook, which is a small estate, the Charity Commissioners find, of about 35 acres in the parish of Castle Church. Rickerscote had also in remote times become charged with a payment to the Prior of St. Thomas, and with Burton it paid, it seems, tithes to support presumably a prebend of the Royal Chapel at Stafford, namely, Burton Prebend, *supra*, p. 37.¹

A Plea Roll *temp.* E. I. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VI., p. 129) shows a question in litigation between Peter the Master and the Hospital of St. John of Stafford, and Nicholas Baron of Stafford, to carry out the terms of a fine levied previously between William, formerly Master of the Hospital, and Robert de Stafford, father of the said Nicholas, whose heir he was, respecting suit and service at the Court of Bradeleye. But the Baron, who was serving in the expedition against the Welsh, was found to be protected by the King's letters from such suit, and the termination of the suit does not appear.

The Annals of Lichfield Diocese, Vol. IV., p. 51, has this memorandum: "That in the Hospitall of Saynt John in Forbrugge, remeyns ij. bells, the challece, vestements, and other ornaments belongynge to the sayd Hospitalle, Rychard Forsett, surveor, dyd take away, before the making of the laste inventories."

¹ The interest of the Priory of St. Thomas in Rickerscote is described in the "Inspeximus" of Pope Celestin's Bull as the meadow called Brokage, and as having been conferred upon the Priory by Reginald Gawle. (Chetwynd, Staffordshire MSS., Vol. III., p. 61, *ibid.*) Elsewhere it appears to have been given by Roger le Wete (Waite), of Rickarscote. (Chetwynd MSS., "Staffordshire," Vol. III.)

THE STAFFORD ESCHEAT.

TEMPORE H. 8.

CHAPTER HOUSE BOOKS $\frac{A}{3}.$
 $\frac{6}{6}.$ DE HEREDITATE COMIT. STAFFORD.¹

		<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	The Manor of Stafforde at	xxxi.	xv.	x. ob
Staff.	Rent called Stafforde Rent	lxxiii.	xii.	iiii. ob.
	The Lordship of Mawdelay	xlvi.	xvi.	ob.
Salop.	Hooldiche nigh Newe Castell	lxvi.		viii.
	The proufite and revenues of Forbrigge	iiii.	xvi.	ii. de.
Cestr.	The Lordship of Tillington	xviii.		
	The Rents of Assize and tenement at Will in Dodington.. ..	vii.	xiii.	viii.
	The Fearme of the Lordship of Pak- ington	iiii.	vi.	viii.
	The Lordship of Eyton at	xvii.	xv.	i. ob. qp.
	The Lordship of Blymynhill at	vi.		xxiii. ob.
	The office of feodary in the County of Staff.	ii.		
	The revenues of Dorlaston	v.	iii.	vii. q.
	Rents and tenements in Maclesfield in Cheshire.. ..	viii.	xvi.	vi.
	Rents and tenements in Tentenshall and Barlastoon	xxix.	viii.	iiii.
	Rents and Fearmes in Cristelton in Cheshire	vi.		xxiii. ob.
	Rents and Fearmes in Bruggenorth in Shropshire	vi.		v.
	Summa ..	cciiiixxiii.li.	xv.s. ix.d.	ob.

¹ This estimate of the Staffordshire escheat of the Duke of Buckingham, made by special authority in the King's behalf (H. VIII), is from the collection now in the Record Office, Fetter Lane. Some few entries belong rather to Cheshire and Shropshire, and they were returned under Staffordshire perhaps because held as of the manor of Castre or Barony of Stafford. So lower down the survey gives the Knights' fees, but not all, some remaining in the Treasury at Thornbury. The

The towne of Stafforde is a propur and a fair towne, whiche The Towne.
contynually afortime harth bene the Kinggs towne. Albe it the

estates named are the same as are mentioned in the long series of Stafford escheats, but the valuations are not always the same, nor in this do they quite agree with those made in the Greater Chartulary, p. 236, now in the library of Lord Bagot at Blithfield; a variation not surprising, because probably resulting from accidents in long intervals of time. It is notable that of the items, the largest is that known as the Stafford Rent, marked in this Royal Valuation at £73 12s. 4½d., and in the above named Great Chartulary at Blithfield at £79 14s. 3½d. respectively. In the same two documents the two values of Stafford manor are given as £31 15s. 5½d., and £34 14s. 0½d., and of the profits and revenues of Forbrigge as £4 16s. 2d. and 31s. respectively.

The object of the Survey seems to have been also to inform the King as to the personal advantages which this escheat might afford him whether for residence or sport. And accordingly, to recommend them to him, it is affirmed that not only was Stafford a "propur and fair towne, and had always been the King's towne, altho' the benefits in it and the lands lying aboute it had been the late Duke of Buckingham's."

This Survey here attests what documentary evidence abundantly shows, that these Dukes of Buckingham had succeeded in completing the territorial circle which hemmed in the borough on all sides, but which had been originally intercepted by the King's Pool, afterwards King's Mead. This pool a royal grant before their first Duke's time had secured to an Earl of Stafford.

In a subsequent part of the Survey, the Duke is said to have had the patronage of the Royal Chapel of St. Mary's, so that these two great additions of King's Chapel and King's Pool had at last enabled the Dukes of the Stafford race to realize what had been a part only of the thwarted pretension or ambition of the Barons of Stafford of the twelfth and thirteenth century, for such they were, as abundantly appears from the Stafford charters. The King's Pool may have been a Royal favor, but the King's Royal Chapel of St. Mary's had become the first Duke's by exchanging a valuable estate originally of his family in Warwickshire, as detailed by its historian Dugdale. The exchange was a fair equivalent, for a subsequent Act of Resumption, which interfered with many Royal grants, left the transfer effected by the exchange intact. (5 Rot. Parl., p. 309.)

The Survey proceeds to describe the park as well set with oak, and with good herbage, and having a part partitioned off with a paling, the whole being about three miles in circumference, and containing 400 acres, with four hundred deer; whereas the other forfeited Stafford Park of Madeley, though about the same size, had only one hundred.

The description in the Survey of the Castle itself, furnishes more minute details than can be learnt from the agreement for its construction; a copy is preserved in the volume of Stafford MSS. at Blithfield, intituled *Registrum factum Memorandum*, etc. That volume professes to be the collection of Edward Lord Stafford, and its date is 1568. Mr. Hamper, who arranged the Stafford MSS. for Lord Bagot (he and Mr. Pipe Wolverston had previously examined them), gives a heading to this particular memorandum to the following effect: "The French mason for the building of Stafford Castle in this art, as his note is."

The reader may now compare the mason's contract with the description in the Royal Survey of the complete Castle as it stood at the time of the survey, say some hundred and eighty years later, and if any discrepancy appear, may he not regard

benefits in the same and landes lying aboute it wer the late Duke of Bukkinghams.

it as arising from what so frequently occurs at the present day, a departure by mutual consent from the terms of a specification, or from alterations subsequently made ?

He may also compare it with the particulars of the Duke's other castle of Thornbury, which are extant amongst the State Papers (*see* "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society," Vol. VIII., pp. 40-43). We have no evidence, in spite of the remarks of the Commissioners as to the conveniences for royal hunting afforded by the escheated Castle of Stafford, that the King ever visited it. To Thornbury Castle, however, the King certainly went, and it was at one time also the residence of his daughter, the Princess Mary (*ibid.*). It is headed, "the House or Castell of Thornbury." Summing up the several spaces it occupied, the inquest tells us that "this Castle, the buildings, courts, orchards, and gardens, are walled about with a wall of stone, part ruined and decayed in divers places thereof, containing by estimation twelve acres of ground or thereabouts." It too had its chapel, entered from the great hall. The Duke and his family had used the adjacent parish church of Thornbury occasionally, to which they had access by a fair cloyster, at the end of which was a fair room with a chimney and window, which room (or pew) looked into the said church; and there the Duke sometimes used to hear service in the same church," which I cite the rather because the chapel and church remind one of those at the Castle near Stafford, and of their use by the same owner perhaps. As to the dimensions of the two castles respectively, the two surveys give a clear superiority to that of Thornbury, whose western front even was about two hundred and five feet in extent, and the towers with their battlements sixty-seven feet complete; their intermediate parts, it is supposed, half the height of a tower (*ibid.*). The badge of the Staffords, the antelope and knot, were more conspicuous at Thornbury than at Maxstoke, another of the unfortunate Duke's castles. At Thornbury the Duke and Duchess had inhabited the south wing; from a later survey in the reign of Elizabeth, it appears that a great hall then adjoined the kitchen and buttery at the east end of the north wing, and at the end of the great hall was a chapel, particularly described in the Survey. It had been large enough to dine between five and six hundred adherents of the Duke in 1507, that is before the latter began the subsequent building (*ibid.*). Leland, "Collectanea," Vol. II., p. 658, gives the above specification of Thornbury, 5 Elizabeth.

To return to Stafford Castle. The reader will note the words of the Commissioners as to the town, it "continually aforetime harth been the King's towne," although the benefits, &c., were the late Duke's. It seems not doubtful that the Staffords had treated the town as their own; see the note of Matthew Worswick, Stafford MSS. Wors., fo. 233, where he says that Ralph first Earl appeared to have treated the borough as his. A Baron Stafford (Robert) had not only claimed the "Burgus" as his, but the Church beneath the Castle, and had given this to the Abbey of Stone; a jury subsequently negatived the right. ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. IV., p. 113.) A Borough Seal placed the Stafford knots above the Royal Lion. (See App. 137.) The Commissioners note the defects of the Stafford Castle, the buttery and pantry below are without partition, there is a defect in the lead covering the roof, as well as the floors, and the embatteling requires pointing and lime.

The document contains some items which the reader finds here printed in the Survey; not properly belonging to the history of the Manor of Castre, they will be passed over in silence; but with the ecclesiastical structures this will not be the case, for all will be noted that stood within the Manor of Castre in whichever

Nigh and ymmediately adjoynnyng to the said towne ther is a goodly parke well sette with ooke and spēally good herbage in the same, in which parke ther is a perticon with pale. And in the myddes thereof the Castell standeth nygh a myle from the toune, upon soo goodly an height that all the country may be seen xx.^{li} or xxx.^r myles aboute. And oon way a man may see to the Kinggs Lordeship of Caurs in Wales xxx. myles from thennes, and an other way to the Kinggs honor of Tutbury. The said Castell is properly buylded all uniforme and of oon facon devised in lenght w^toute any ynner co^rte, and at aither ende twoe to^rs and oon in the myddes on the south side, the 'nbatelling being trussed furth upon corbelles. The hall sette on height in the myddes adjoynnyng therunto at the over ende a great chamb^r and w^t in the same be vi. other little chambers every of thaym having a draught and a chymnay, that is to wete in aither of the twoe towres at that ende iii. chambres. In the towr of the south side be other iii. ch^ambs like to the other. And at the nether ende of the hall is a surveing place, and withoute that the ii. towres at that ende—and in aither of thaym iii. chambers like to the other in proporcion w^t draughts and chymnays.

And under the hall at the nether ende is the ketchin and larder hous. And directely under the hall is the buttery and pantery, not well devised for want of particons—and directely under the grete chamber is the seller. This said Castell harth a good rooff coverd thorowly w^t leade, howe be it therein be many

of its members; but this dispenses with any mention of the Grey Friars that stood across the river in the northern Faubourg, and the Royal foundation of the St. Mary's, both of which were then in the borough. What the Survey itself says of that latter Royal Chapel will be read with interest; its antiquity as a foundation has been alluded to, but the present edifice furnishes no *indicia*, I am told, of the antiquity which certainly belonged to the foundation.

The survey before us points out to the Sportsman-Monarch the advantages of his new acquisition for the pursuit of his favourite pastime. Henry had struck down, as Charles the Fifth had said, "the noblest Buck in all England;" and now the Commissioners invite the King to the slaughter of these the Duke's four hundred deer. In their midst stands, is suggested to him, "the Castell nigh a mile from the towne, upon so goodly an height that all the country may be seen xx. or xxx. miles aboute." The latter is the distance of another castle of poor Buckingham, Caurs, once the Corbets', from whom an eventual heiress had brought it to a Baron de Stafford. Buckingham's attainder had conveyed it too to the King. In another direction the King might behold his own Lancastrian Castle of Tutbury. Then the Castle is said to be a "propur" castle, although "little and without courts, properly buylded, all uniforme, and of one fashion," with two towers at each end and another in the middle, five in all, three chambers in each tower, and each with a draught and chimney."

The Parke
and Castell.

defawts, and also in the floores, and the said inbatelling wolde be better pointed and filled with lyme, which with weder is worne away.

Nere adjoynnyng to the said Castell is an old Chapell, and besides the same there is [a] fair lodge, buylded of tymber and an other kechin ther buylded alsoe of tymber. Then a good distaunce from the same is a fair large barne, and in the same is remaynning mych oolde tymber parte or all mete for a stable. Considering that this little Castell and the membres aboute hit is from Tutbury upon xv. myles and from Lichefelde xiii. or xiiii. myles, standing pleasauntely nigh mych game for hunting, having propur towne of Staff. within a myle of hit mete for lodging of myche people, it is thought hit should be right pleasaunte for the King whenne it shall please his grace to make his progress into thoos pts in grece tyme.¹

The said parke conteynneth aboute nigh iii. myles, having in hit four hundreth dere.

The parke of Mawdelay planted with many great ooks xii. myles from Stafford, conteynneth aboute iii. myles, having in it an c. dere.

The Manrode.

The numbre of the manrode ther, cl.²

¹ Grese, deer season. Halliwell cites Ipomydon, and says, "Deer or game in grass or grease-time." So R. Brunne has:—

"Whan Harald or the kyng wild come thider eftsons

In the tyme of *gese*" (perhaps for (grese?)) "to take them venysons."

When the grass failed, the deer fed upon a less favourable food in the coverts.

Hart of Greece is Gutch's reading to the poem of Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer, where Robin Hood asks:—

"Which of you can kill a buck,

Or which can kill a doe,

Or who can kill a hart of *Greece*

Five hundred foot him fro'.²

And Gutch says, "This means, perhaps, no more than a fat hart for the sake of a quibble between Greece and grease." And so in Nare's "Glossary," edited by Halliwell and T. Wright, it is said, "A hart, capon, &c., of Greece, meant a fat one; it seems therefore that it should be of *grease*, from *graisse*, French; and so Percy explains it." If so, "time of grece" would mean when the deer are in good condition; and yet the stanza in Robin Hood and the Curtall Fryer, which contemplates a single occasion, seems to suppose a difference then between buck and hart of Greece. The deer were, according to age, called by different names (*see* Manwood's "Forest Laws," ch. 4, s. 5, according to which also "the time of 'grace' of a Hart or Buck beginneth at Midsommer day, and lasteth till Holyrood Day," *i.e.*, the 14th September.

² How profitable land held in chivalry might be to the superior Lord, may be inferred from the incidents of aids, reliefs, primer seisin, wardship and marriage, fines on alienation, escheats involving reversions to the superior Lord, as described

John Aston, Knight, holdeth ii. knights' fees in Milwiche and Knights' fees. Tixall.¹

The Lady Stauneley holdeth iiiii. knights' fees in Aston and Burweston.²

in our historical and juridical books. The Survey set down the Manrode (Manrede) homagers or vassals at one hundred and fifty, that is for the whole of the Duke's estates in Staffordshire. No doubt the greater proportion would proceed from his manor surrounding Stafford. Next follow the names of the Duke's Staffordshire servants, who held their lands by military service, with the number of fees which each held. This list enables the reader to compare the state of this part of the Duke's Staffordshire estate with its corresponding description in the older feudaries. He will find some knights' fees originally the Staffords', no longer theirs, a decrease probably to be explained by their having been detached to form part of the appanages of younger sons, or perhaps the Duke may have had tenants of Staffordshire fees holding from him important estates also by military service in Gloucestershire, to whom the closing sentence may be applicable, *i.e.*, "divers other Knights ther be remayning in the Treasoury at Thornebury." He will find two knights' fees, not originally Stafford fees, those of Acton Trussel (in. Dom. B., the Bishop's) and Hamstal Ridware (in D. B., Earl Roger's). Lists are to be seen in the Feodaries known as the "*Liber Niger*" and "*Kirkby's Quest*;" and the "*Testa de Nevile*" alone contains five, but not all complete. A considerable diminution may be noted from the Staffordshire number mentioned in the first of those Feodaries (*see* General Wrottesley's analysis, "*Staffordshire Collections*," Vol. I., pp. 145-239, 174, 228), where several losses are mentioned as having occurred before the date of the "*Liber Niger*." Settlements upon younger sons may account for diminution occurring in later times, and this excited most attention in reference to those who, after litigation with the Erdeswicks, successfully established their right as heirs male, apparently to Bramshall, Coppenthal, Hide, &c., and who are now chiefly represented by Lord Willoughby De Broke, it is believed.

¹ *Knights' fees*.—John Aston, Knight. He seems to have been Sheriff in 1500, 1508, and 1513. The first Sheriff of the family was Sir Thomas, 1370. Six of his descendants held the office from father to son almost to the reign of James I. The next head of the family, Walter, was the first Lord Aston of Forfar. Sir John, the Knight mentioned in this survey, married Joan, daughter and heir of William Lytleton, of Frankley, and John died not long after the survey, A.D. 1523.

² The Lady Stanley was daughter and heiress of Sir James Lee, of Aston, Burston, and Walton. She died 1525, having long survived her husband, Sir Humphrey Stanley, Knight and Banneret, who died 1504. (*See* pedigree, Salt MS. 80, p. 18.) Erdeswick knew the descent, not unnaturally, as his own manor at Sandon was not far off, but he had unsuccessfully striven to find how those places, all in the Stafford fief, had come to be divided and then united, and how the Lees had become possessed of them. But the Heveninghams were already Lords in Erdeswick's time, having inherited them through the daughter and eventually sole heir of John Stanley, son and heir of the above-mentioned Lady Stanley. "There was," says Chetwynd (MS. *Pirehill Hundred*), "anciently a chapel in this Burweston, said to be built on the place where Rufinus, younger son to King Wulfhere, flying from his father's fury, was found and suffered martyrdom, upon which account it was much visited by devout pilgrims in former ages, but in this last has been demolished. The tythe of corn was first purchased out of the Crown, 2 Elizabeth, by John Erdeswick, Gent., and descended to his grandson, Sampson Erdeswick, of Hartley Green, now living

The Lorde Brooke holdeth a knight's fee in Bromeshall.¹

David Owen and Andrew Windsor, Knight, hoolde a knight's fee in Mawdelay alsoe² (Ulfac).

Will^am Basset holdeth ii. knights' fees in Blore and Grendon.³

John Savage, Knight, holdeth a knight's fee in Teen.⁴

John Blounte holdeth ii. knights' fees in Hopton and Teen.⁵

Lewes Bagott holdeth a knight's fee in Baggotts Bromeley.⁶

Simon Harcourte holdeth iii. knights' fees in Sharesnull, Sardon, and Coven.⁷

(*i.e.*, 1680, *circ. temp.* Walter Chetwynd), who about twenty years since sold them to several occupants."

¹ The Lord Brooke.—His fee was Bramshall. It had been held as an inheritance by Sir James Stafford, of Sandon, Knight, and was treated as descendible to the latter's sole daughter and heiress, wife of Thomas Erdeswick. The male Stafford heir, however, contested the Erdeswick right. Finally, *temp.* Hen. VII., the male line claiming through a second house of Bramshall Staffords, recovered this and other estates from the Erdeswicks. These lands became afterwards vested in the Greilles and Willoughby de Brooke. ("Erdeswicke Survey," by Harwood, pp. 511-12; see also "Rot. Parl.," Vol. VI., pp. 325-6.) The Lord Brooke in the survey was Willoughby de Brooke, who died almost at the date of this survey, *i.e.*, A.D. 1522. (See Sir Harris Nicholas' "Hist. Peerage.")

² David Owen and Andrew Windsor. Who the former was is not clear, but in Erdeswick's time Madeley Ulfac was held by Lord Windsor, whom he presumed "to have it by descent from Lord Monntjoy." Lord Windsor was the son of Lord Andrew Windsor, afterwards first Baron Windsor. Dugdale tells us from the mouth of the son how the father had been forced suddenly by his royal guest at Stanwell, King Henry VIII., to exchange this manor for the possessions of the recently dissolved Abbey of Bordsley. The patent for the exchange of his patrimony had been already prepared, and without his knowledge or wish.

³ William Bassett, afterwards Sir William Basset, Knight, whose son of the same name was Lord of Blore and Grendon in the time of S. Erdeswicke.

⁴ John Savage, Bart.—His fee is Nether Teen, or Tayne, as Erdeswick writes it. Both Over and Nether Tayne, originally estates of the Bekes, passed by an heiress to Sir Robert Swinnerton, Knight, whose daughter and heiress married first Sir Raufe Peshall, and secondly, Sir John Savage. After long enmity between the issues of the two marriages, it was agreed that each should take one of the two Taynes.

⁵ John Blounte, afterwards Knight.—He held by virtue of the compromise mentioned in Note 5, Over Tayne, but again the family seems to have been at variance, for by devise the estate was carried to the female rather than the male line, "the cause," says Erdeswick, "being unknown."

⁶ Lewes Bagot held Bagot's Bromley Fee.—He was pro corpore Henry VII., and Sheriff 12 Henry VIII. A family in which the Sherifffdom was very usual in various eras of our history.

⁷ Simon Harcourt.—This would seem to have been the person afterwards Sir Simon Harcourt, Knight, son of Christopher and Joan, daughter and heiress of Sir Miles Stapilton. (Salt MS. 80, p. 40.) The Harcourts appear to have held these fees, originally the heritage of Joan, from the reign of Edward III., but the alliances

The Lady Gressley holdeth a knight's fee in Colton.¹

John Essex holdeth two knights' fees in Staunton.²

Thomas Swynarton holdeth a knight's fee in Swynarton.³

Rauff Congrave holdeth a knight's fee in Stretton.⁴

The heires of Clapton holde the vth part of a knight's fee in long ore (Longnor).⁵

Maister Heer (Veer) holdeth ii. pts of a knight's fee in Acton Trussell.⁶

The Lady Cotton holdeth the vith parte of a knight's fee in Hampstall Ridware.⁷

Robert Swynarton holdeth a knight's fee in Bruchurste.⁸

of Harcourt and Sharesnull have puzzled very good genealogists, seemingly. (*See* Mr. S. P. Wolverston's Notes to the last volume of "Nichols' Leicestershire," p. 520, and cited last edition of Erdeswick, p. 163, in notes.)

¹ The Lady Gresley.—This was Benedict Vernon, I think, of Haddon, co. Derby. Her husband, Sir William Gresley, Knight, was then just dead. He died in 1521, leaving no issue by this lady, but several brothers. Her holding the fee of Colton implies some family settlement.

² John Essex.—Erdeswick says, Standon, since King Edward III.'s time, came to Essex of Berkshire, from whom the last Sir Thomas Essex, Knight, sold it to Vise. This family also exchanged patrimonial estates with Henry VIII. for Abbey lands. They were amongst the first created Baronets, but according to Lysons had become extinct.

³ Thomas Swynnerton.—A Sir Thomas Swynnerton died 1530. He had married Alice, daughter of a Harcourt.

⁴ Raufe Congreve.—This was Ralph Congreve, son of Richard Congreve and . . . Harpur, of Rushal. Ralph's wife was . . . Erdeswick. ("Staff. Hist. Coll.," Vol. V., Part II., p. 83.)

⁵ Clapton, heiress of (or Clopton).—Here Erdeswick is more minute in his statement ("Erdeswick," by Harwood, p. 118 and p. 168) than Dugdale, who does not in his "Warwickshire" show how, through Clopton's heiress, the Staffordshire estates of Ashley, Water Eaton, and Longnor came to the Harewells; note, however, a difference. The Royal Survey here values the Longnor interest as the fifth part of a knight's fee, and Erdeswick cites a deed which makes it to be the fourth part.

⁶ Master Veer (Vere), two-thirds of a fee in Acton Trussell.—John Vere, fourteenth Earl of Oxford, who married Elizabeth, daughter and eventual heiress of Edward Trussell, and yet the title is not given. (*See* Erdeswick's Survey, p. 185.) Acton Trussell was sold lately by an Earl of Oxford.

⁷ The Lady Cotton.—Her fee being in Hampstall Ridware at the date of the Royal Survey, who can she be but Catharine, widow of Thomas of Hampstall Ridware (?).

⁸ Robert Swynarton.—His fee was Brockhurst, once a spot of more importance. (*See* Canon Bridgeman's Blymhill Parish, "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., p. 106.) This Robert Swynnerton would seem to have been of the family of Swynnerton of Eeleshale (*ibid.*, p. 112), and indeed the Robert who married a daughter of the house of Littleton of Pilaton Hall. Robert's son Edward sold his interest in

The Prior of Stooene¹ and Robert Massy hoolde a knight's fee in Walton.

Mighill Selman and Thomas Banastre hoolde a knight's fee in Eyton and Horsley.²

Willm Chetwyn holdeth ii. knights' fees and di. in Mitton, Ingestr, and Gretewiche.

The same Will^am holdeth a knight's fee in Salt some tyme oon Ive and other tenñts of Salt.

The said Will^am holdeth a knight's fee in Salt aforsaid for the marriage of Lady Elizabeth.³

The Lorde Barnes holdeth iii. knights' fees in Hawghton.⁴

Divers other knights ther be remaynnyng in the Tresoury at Thornebury.⁵

The Deanery of Stafforde at xxiiii.*li.* whiche ever harth bene Capella Regia and is privileged accoordingly. And albe it the

Blymhill, but excepted "Brackelhurst," which was passed by a fine to Blackmore (*ibid.*, p. 117).

¹ The Prior of Stone and Robert Massey.—How these two became associated as holders of a Knight's fee in Walton is not clear. The Prior was probably the last one named in the list given by Bishop Tanner as succeeding in 1480, that is, Robert Wile. At the time of the dissolution, William Smyth was Prior.

² Michael Selman and Thomas Banastre.—A fine of 1443-4 associates the former name with Orslow ("Staffordshire Collections," Vol. IV., pp. 46 and 47), and Canon Bridgeman's suggestion appears well founded, that the right of Selman sprang from a marriage with a Moreton heiress. A Richard Selman appears often as in the Commissions for Staffordshire. (See Index to Brewer's "Letters," &c., *temp.* H. VIII.). Banastre, a name of Stafford tenants elsewhere, and tragically connected with the death of the second Duke, appears connected with Orslow in the "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. IV., p. 43.

³ This William Chetwynd is thus spoken to in the "Chetwyndorum Stemma" (now *penes* his descendant the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot at Ingestre), "Will. Chetwynd de Ingestre, 5 H. VII., *obit.* 38 H. VIII. He married, 5 H. VII., Elizabeth fil. Johannis Ferrers de Tamworth Castle." (See Add. to p. 112.)

⁴ The Lord Barnes (Berners) held three knights' fees in Haughton. Why he did Erdeswick professes ignorance. This Peer is John Lord Berners, who was at the siege of Therouenne, and held high place in the esteem of Henry VIII., for whom he translated Froissart's Chronicles. He was of the Bouchier family, also closely connected with Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, under whom he held Haughton, which may help to explain his holding a Stafford knight's fee. There is no doubt that this Lord Barnes was Lord Berners. It seems singular that the same double spelling or pronunciation occurred with respect to the quaint authoress, or at least reputed authoress, of part, if not all, of nearly our oldest book on heraldry, that is, of the treatise intituled Hawking (Hunting) and Cootarmyrs, by Dame Juliana Barnes or Berners; a *rapprochement* which might lead some to identify the blue stocking Prioress as a member of his Lordship's family.

⁵ Compare the above with the more numerous knights' fees in the Inq. p. m. Thomas, Earl, 16 R. II., pt. 1, No. 27.

Duke was patron, yet the King was founder in somyche as the preiste of the Coledge take in thair masses daily for the King this Colec: Deus in cujus manus, etc. And also in the same Colledge in many place appereth the oolde armes of Eingland. The Dean ther geveth xii. litle prebendes.¹

An hous of Augustyne freres.²

An hous of the Grey frerys.

A Chauntery in Litchfield called Ratcliffe Chauntery.³

Foundations
and ad-
vowsons.

li.

A donative of St. John Baptiste in Stafford⁴

..

..

x.

¹ The Duke became, as mentioned *supra*, p. 18, patron by exchange with King Henry VI. Ashmole noted the Royal arms in St. Mary's before the Revolution. Bishop Tanner's "Notitia Monastica," ed. Nasmyth, says that there were fourteen prebendaries with the Dean. It is evident, however, from the above, they were but thirteen altogether. Domesday mentions the same King having had thirteen (*canonicos prebendarios*), but speaks of fourteen as the number of *Priests* (*presbyteri*) in Stafford. The fourteenth probably was the Incumbent of St. Chad's. Independently of the Dean, the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" only adduces twelve prebends.

² With extensive rights, a feudal lord had co-extensive responsibilities; not only was he an hereditary soldier bespoken for the defence of the country, but he was bound to protect his tenants, and to provide for their spiritual wants. So we find that independently of the two religious establishments just alluded to as within the borough itself, one of which, the Grey Friars (*supra*, p. 100, in note), was also a Stafford foundation, the attainted Duke had four others within the Manor of Castre. One was a house of Augustin Friars. Leland ("Itin.," Vol. VII., p. 28) had said of the Stafford monuments of alabaster in Stone Abbey, that after its suppression, "the images that lay upon them were caryed to the Freers Augustines in Fordebridge, *alias* Stafford Grene, *cis flumen*. And in this Freres hong a Petigre of the Staffordes." Dugdale in his "Baronage" introduces these Austin Friars as follows: "Bearing a venerable respect to the order of Friars Hermits of St. Augustin, Ralph Earl of Stafford settled them within the borough of Stafford about the twenty-sixth year of Edward III., for the health of his soul, as also for the souls of Katherine and Margaret his wives, and for the soul of Sir Humphrey Hastang, Knight; and likewise for the good estate of King Edward III. (*supra*, p. 96 *n.*). It would show an establishment (settlement) of these friars in Stafford itself, before they were through the Earl established in fforbrugge." In a subsequent patent this Earl is nevertheless said to have founded the Priory in the latter place (*supra*, p. 96).

³ A Stafford foundation this was not, therefore it must have been simply patronage. The "Valor Ecclesiasticus" made *temp.* Henry VIII., fo. ed., 1817, p. 141, mentions the above Chantry as founded by Magister George Radclyff, formerly Canon. The value annually from lands and tenements in Lychfield, Morghul, and Stretham was £4. (Ashmolean MSS., fo. 855.) The rental gives £2 14s. 4d. as the sum, and was then held by Richard Tatton. George Radclyff had been Treasurer of Lichfield 1436; Archdeacon of Chester in 1449; so that he was a cotemporary of Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, who called him his clerk. ("Gent. Mag.," Vol. LXIII., p. 402.)

⁴ Secondly, a donative of St. John the Baptist, which has been already spoken to.

					s.	d.
A donative called the Spittell there of the						
same saint at ¹ .	..	..	..	..	c.	
The Chapel at the Castell of Saint Nicholas,						
being a donative at ²	..	..	..	..	xlvi.	vii.

¹ Thirdly, another donative, styled here also of St. John the Baptist, but called more often the Spittal, the dedication of which is, except in this Survey, generally given as of St. Leonard's. This it would rather seem occupied the site, or approached it, of a more ancient Leper House situated at Retford, or Radford, of which an early record speaks (cited *supra*, pp. 94, 99), and which needs no further mention here.

² A Chapel of St. Nicholas, so frequently mentioned in public and private documents; it indeed forms an important part of the evidence whereby the antiquity of Castre, whether Castle or Castlewick, is made out; it becomes necessary to dwell upon this item in the Survey at greater length here. The Earl Ralph's agreement with the mason embraced a provision not only for a Castle, but also for a Chapel. The contract is for a "*Chastelle sur la moëlle dens la manere . . . ove (with) koms sales chambres chapelre garderobes cheminees viss fenetres huis et portes.*" (Stafford MS. at Blithfield, *supra*, p. 81. This Survey mentions the account at the Castle of *another* Chapel, shall I term it, not in it but near adjoining to it, which is not enumerated amongst the actual religious edifices in the Duke's patronage, but is simply spoken of as "an old Chapel at the side of a fair lodge," near adjoining to the Castle. Now a reasonable theory is that that old Chapel was disused before the mason built his Castle and Chapel, and that both had been dedicated successively to the same saint, the former one having served the Barons from their first settling here; and the Earls and Dukes, it is probable only occasional residents, who were in possession of the new Chapel, having had the good taste to leave its predecessor *in situ*; the saint having only travelled a few yards further to a more eligible site within the walls of a western tower of the Castle itself. The subject is one that receives light from the documents which speak of the Chapel of St. Nicholas, and these are cited elsewhere, and the reader has here an opportunity of comparing them with the two mentions of a Chapel in the Royal Survey, the one "at," and the other "near," adjoining the Castle. Upon this subject it may be suggested that, although said to be founded "time out of mind, and by whom it is unknown," still everything fairly leads to the supposition that it was founded about the twelfth century, and that both Chapel and the second Baron Stafford owed the name of Nicholas to the facts recorded by early historians, which had made considerable noise at this time, and attached to the saint in question a renewed interest. Be this as it may, the Chapel was a free Chapel "for one priest perpetually to celebrate and to minister service in the said Chapel to all inhabitants of the Castle, as it were a Parish Church, in all things except burials, which hath always been at the Collegiate Church of Stafford" (*supra*, p. 95). And so those early feudal chiefs, and the Barons of the second race deriving through the heiress Miliscent, and the Earls who rebuilt shall I say their Chapel, *temp.* Edward III., and the three Dukes who followed them, all when at the Castle used the free Chapel of St. Nicholas as their place of worship for themselves and families, until we find it dissolved, and its last members pensioned with the others at the dissolution of the Chantries and free Chapels, and as recorded by Brown Willis; the entry being, "Thomas Seale Incumb. Capell Sti. Nichi *infra* castr Stafford, per ann. lx.s." Yet there must have been an attempt at an interruption of the right at an early date, for first it was confirmed to the Priory of Stone by

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The peonage (<i>sic</i>) of Brawdeley (Bradeley) in the County of Staff. at	xx.		
The personnage of Churche Eton, the nomi- nation to the King, the presentation to th' Abbas of Poolesworth in Warwick- shir or Leicestershire.			
The foundation of the Priory of Stoone.			
There is a wood called Pakkington wood being a yong spring exteemed in grooce and as offers have bene made for hit at	xx.		A woode.
Th' office of Steward late occupied by the Earl of Shrowsbury during pleasur ¹		c.	Offices.
Th' office of Recevoir occupied by James Nowell, deputed therunto by Thomas Magnus and Will'm Walweyne ² . .		c.	

Robert de Stafford, and then to the Abbey of Kenilworth by King Henry II., as "ecclesiam S. Nicholai in Castello de Stafford." Subsequently some contract arrangement restored it to its ancient lord, for it is not mentioned as in any way dependent upon the Kenilworth Abbey, but charters describe it as belonging to the fee and donation of Robert de Stafford; and the two Priories later had their reciprocal rights readjusted on payment of pensions. The "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*," p. 119, describes it as the Free Chapel "*infra Castrum Stafford*."

¹ After Henry Stafford the second Duke of Buckingham had been seised and put to death, the office of "bailiff of Stafford Grene" was granted to Robert Wortley for life; that of the office of keeper of the park of Stafford to Thomas Belle for life; whilst grant was made to Thomas Wortley, Knight of the Royal body, of the important office of Steward of the lands of the late Duke in Staffordshire generally, as also of Master of the Hunt there for life. (9 Rep. Dep. Keep. of Records, App. II., p. 69.) But when the previous Duke's attainder had been reversed in favour of the last Duke of the Stafford race, these appointments would become his. He appointed his kinsman, George Earl of Shrewsbury, Knight of the Garter, 1588, who had been with Henry VIII. to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was also a witness in the Royal divorce case against Queen Catherine, notably a favourite of the King, but at the same time grandson by his mother of Humfrey first Duke of Buckingham. A special clause in the Statute 14 H. VIII., s. 73, preserved to the Earl the benefit of the above stewardship notwithstanding the attainder of his relative; who acted as steward for the Duke in the other counties over which his estates extended does not appear in this Staffordshire Survey. Some of them may also have been Earls, and therefore perhaps it was that Anthony Stafford, the author of "*Honor and Vertue*" triumphing over the grave exemplified in the Life and Death of Henry Lord Stafford (A.D. 1640), said he had heard that Henry's ancestors had been "so great nobles that they had had even Earls for stewards."

² James Nowell (Noel) was deputy receiver; those who deputed him were Thomas Magnus and William Walweyne. James Nowell held also, the Survey tells us, the office of Porter of the Castle, connected with the Harcourts, and related to Martin Noel, who founded the almshouses at Stafford.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Th' office of Bailly of the Liberties occupied by Will ^m Harwoode yeoman of the Crowne ¹	lx.	viii.	
Th' office of porter of the Castell of Stafforde occupied by the said James Nowell at ²	xl.		
Th' office of Parker of Stafforde occupied by an under kepar set at	ix.	viii.	
Th' office of the parker of Mawdeley lately occupied by Hugh Boughhey at ³	lx.	viii.	

Wawens Wotton cum aliis.

The Lordship of Wawens Wotton at . .	xxvi.		vi.
The Lordship of Sheldon at	xxix.	iii.	i. qu.
The Lordship of Salleford at	viii.		viii.
Officium feodarii in Com' Warwic' . .	ii.		

Summa . . lxiii.*li.* iii.*s.* iii.*d.* qu.

Lately
alienated to
Sir William
Compton,
Knight.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The Lordship of Tisehov w ^t the manor at . .	xlvii.	xix.	iii.
The Lordship called Wolforde Magna . .	xiii.	vi.	viii.
The Lordship called Wolforde perva at . .	iii.	iii.	iii.

Summa . . lxvii.*li.* ix.*s.* iii.*d.*

The Advowson of the Church of Sheldon.

Woods.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A woode of great tymber called Hathill conteynnyng ii. acres valoured at			c.
A woode of underwoode called Rigemoor w ^t a lane conteynning iii. acres lately soolde			
A woode of tymber called Lady woode conteynnyng iii. acres valoured at	xx.		

¹ Bailiff of the liberties occupied by William Harwoode, Yeoman of the Crowne, 60s. 8d. This salary was of the same amount as that of the Bailiff of Wawenswotton and Sheldon.

² Porter of the Castle, occupied by the said James Noel, at 4s. It is strange to find the first restored Baron holding the office of Constable and porter of Stafford Castle, A.D. 1532. See Doyle's "Official Baronage," Vol. III., p. 390.

³ Parker of Stafford, occupied by an underkeeper at 9s. 8d., whereas the corresponding office at Madeley had been lately occupied by Hugh Boughhey at 60s. 8d.

	<i>li.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The woode in the parke valoure at	xiii.	vi.	viii
A woode called Beret woode conteynnyng iii. acres valoured at		xl.	
A yong woode called Halstowe conteynnyng l. acres, the acre at v.s.	xxv.		
A woode called the v. acres valoured at ..		lx.	
Th' office of Bailly of Wawenswotton and Sheldon, occupied by Robert Ruddell, granted by patent during pleasur with the fee of		lx.	viii.

These estates were nearly all in Staffordshire, but the escheat at the death of William Earl of Stafford shows that he had died seised of 6 castles, 38 manors, 4 free burghs, 25 vills, and also lands in 24 other vills, 1 commote, 1 forest, 1 chace, 1 fishery, 1 pool, 1 seargeancy, 14 churches (advowsons), 1 chantry (advowson), 8 priories (patronage of), 28 courts leet, 200 courts, and 239½ knights' fees in services, all which were spread over 20 counties besides London. Such is the result of a rapid glance at these estates. They were afterwards augmented not merely by the purchase from the Comptons of Maxstoke Castle and the building almost completed of Thornbury Castle, but by the transfer to the second Duke of the remainder of the Bohun inheritance vacated by the failure of the other Royal Lancastrian line.¹

¹ The sequel of the History of the restored lords is not within the direct object of this paper, but a few words trace that of the Castle to our own time, and may interest the reader. He has seen in the text the condition of the Baronial Castle in the year 1524. We have a view, amongst the unpublished plates to "Shaw's History," of what it was at the close of the last century. Then nothing could be discerned standing but a part of the south wall. What had occurred to it in the interval? A Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient, all three of the military company in Norwich, made a seven-weeks' journey through twenty-six counties in the year 1634, and visited, it appears, Staffordshire (*see* Lansdowne MSS., 213, Art. 26). The narrator shows how from Eccleshall, in his own words, "we hasted to the shire towne, where we left nere a mile from the entrance of the towne, on a *mounted* hill, a strong and stately commanding Castle, somewhat ruined; and by it, on the top of that hill, a *fyre* house, wherein liveth a good old lady (Lady Stafford), a most bountifull housekeeper." It is not necessary, if it were possible, to understand whether this good lady's house (she seems to have been the grandmother of the young lord, last of the male Bagot-Staffords) formed any part of the Castle, or on what side of the hill it stood, or in what contiguity. We see the site and the *mounted* hill, and accept the general fidelity of the description. The Castle was strong and commanding; it looked around on all sides, and beheld nothing more commanding than itself, unless perhaps Billington, or the distantly visible Wrekin. Somewhat

Thus a family which had so long aspired to the over lordship of the town and county, had after the lapse of four centuries by a

ruinated, too, it was. Injured not by war but by lapse of time and the want of necessary repairs. Edward Lord Stafford, in the date of a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "rudely scribbled" at his Castle of Stafford in July, 27, 1603, uses depreciating words (*see* the unpublished papers in the Talbot Collection, calendared by Mr. Lodge in his "Illustrations of English History," at the end of the third volume). But his language is that of a discontented man exaggerating his misfortunes. The three travellers when they visited the Castle in 1634, little knew that its utter destruction would take place within a short decade of years. The defence, the courage and resolution of Lady Stafford, only served to postpone the event for a few weeks. The circumstances which attended it are recorded in contemporary correspondence, and recapitulated in all the topographical books (*see* Stebb. Shaw's "History General History," p. 63, and Mr. Harwood's edition of Erdeswick ed. 1844, pp. 153 and 154, in notes). Suffice it to say that the Castle was finally demolished by an order issuing from the Parliamentary Committee, dated the 22nd December, 1643. And so it long continued. The remains of the Baronial Castle appeared in 1813 to Mr. Nightingale as on a site originally levelled by art for the sake of embellishment. He thought the only portion of the Castle then standing to be the keep or stronghold placed upon an artificial mount of an oblong form, measuring 105 feet by 50. Mr. Jerningham had, a few years previously, cleared and raised the wall to a height of 12 feet. During the operation a variety of silver coins had been found, in general later than the reign of Ed. VI., together with a plain silver cross, a cannon ball, two small millstones, and the larger portion of a large font or piscina. Each angle of the keep was surmounted by small octangular towers, and these contained three separate rooms, with a fireplace in each, and also steps leading up to loopholes. The thickness of the walls was 8 feet, and they were so constructed that it was difficult to determine where the entrance was placed. A considerable part of the structure had been rebuilt by Mr. Jerningham, who then appeared inclined to complete it. The same writer added, "a deep foss or ditch surrounds the whole castle, and one side has the additional defence of a high rampart. South (?) from the castle stood the manor house, the usual residence of the noble family of Stafford. It was fortified by Ralph de Stafford in the reign of Ed. III., who had granted him permission to make castles of his¹ manor houses, both here and at Madeley. The area of this ancient seat is still easily discovered, by the moat which surrounds it remaining unfilled up."

Another writer, a few years after Mr. Nightingale, says, "some years ago, the walls of Stafford Castle were cleared of rubbish and made of an equal height by Mr. Jerningham, and in 1815 two new towers were built."

Amongst Mr. S. P. Wolverstan's notes to his copy in the British Museum of Stebbing Shaw's "History of Staffordshire," Vol. I., p. 99, is the following citation from a letter of Will. Hamper, the antiquary, dated Christmas Eve, 1817: "On the 15th October, Mrs. Hamper went with me on a visit of two or three days to our friends Mr. and Mrs. Edward Jerningham, at the *renovated* Castle of Stafford, where they had often invited us. You probably know that Mr. Edward J. (for his brother Sir George) is rebuilding the Castle after the style of Edw. III., when it was last

¹ An error of Mr. Nightingale, the Royal Patent (*supra* pp. 80-1) only authorises the Baron to "crenellate his 'manses' of Stafford and Madlee."

persistent ambition and by great and even royal alliances, succeeded at last. They had become Earls and Dukes, virtual lords of the town and its surroundings, patrons too, in the King's place, of his Royal Free Collegiate Church, and masters of his Royal vivary, to lose all again by repeated attainders in less than a single century! to lose more still, the then hereditary Constablership of England, the position really of last of the great feudal Barons of England as

erected. All the walls are raised 20 feet above the foundation, and two of the towers (with a suite of rooms between them) completely finished, at the expense of 1,100 waggon loads of stone from a quarry at Tixall. The plan of the building is something like the following, and the shaded lines will show what is rebuilt." He then gives a plan, like that which follows the plan in Clifford's "Tixall," but shows that the entrance to the Castle was at the west, *i.e.*, on the side looking away from Stafford towards Billington. The Jerninghams had fitted up the north-west tower-basement as a Chapel; whether or not because they had evidence to show it to have been the site of the ancient dissolved Free Chapel of St. Nicholas, does not appear.

The Knights' fees and most of the other estates were for ever lost to the Staffords, but by his Patent of the 23rd year of his reign (2nd Part), King Henry the VIII. granted to Henry Lord Stafford and Ursula his wife and the heirs of their bodies, not only the reversions to certain parcels of rents of the Manor of Stafford then outstanding in the hands of Robert Acton and Margery his wife, as also certain interests in the herbage and pannage of the park of Stafford after the death of Edward Littleton, who as well as the said R. Acton are described as gentlemen ushers of the King's Chamber, but his the King's Castle and Manor of Stafford and his Manor called Stafford Rents in the co. of Stafford, and all lands and tenements, meadows, feedings, pastures, rents, reversions, and service in the town and borough of Stafford, and in the townships of Bradeley, Billington, Dunston, Copynhall, Stretton, Cokeslane, Burton, Wuttonsfonds, Lichfield, Fulforde, and Richardseott, in the aforesaid county, and also all and all manner of woods, underwoods, pools, waters, fisheries, mills, vivaries, parks, deer warrens, bondmen, villeins, privileges, profits and commodities whatsoever to the said Castle and Manor and other the premises belonging, and the advowsons, nominations, and donations of the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas within the park of Stafford aforesaid. The said grant was further to cover all estates late of Roger Bradshaw within the Manor of Stafford, and all parcels and members thereof late of Richard Bassett, Lord of Drayton . . . and the said Patent similarly conferred upon Henry and Ursula the Manor of Essington, co. York. It embraced also a grant to them of the Courts Leet and Views of Frankpledge, &c., in the manor aforesaid; assize of bread and ale, broken tumbrel, pillory, gallows, stocks, waifs, strays, chattels of felons and fugitives, fairs, tolls, piceage, stallage, passage, fines, and amerciements; and also all other liberties, franchises, customs and privileges which the Duke or any of his ancestors had used. A very important exception, however, overrode the whole grant. It reserved to the King all rents, farms, and tenements which he held in right of the Crown of England or in any other manner before the Duke's attainder, and also all Knights' fees, wards, marriages, reliefs, treasure trove, and all advowsons, &c., except that of the Free Chapel of St. Nicholas aforesaid.

well as that of Princes of the Blood.¹ Such is the consummation of which the above survey of the King's Commissioners furnishes us with a glimpse.

¹ The Articles of the challenge at the marriage of Prince Arthur had entitled this great subject, Edward Duke of Buckingham, Erle of Stafford, Hertford, Northampton, and Perche, Lord of Thornbury, Brecknock, Holdernes, and Caurse, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Great Constable of England. (Chetw. MS., Worswick's Notes, fol. 222.)

RESULTS OF FURTHER RESEARCH.

SINCE the above was printed, access to fresh sources has enabled the writer to render the paper somewhat less incomplete. The most important of these are the MSS. entitled "The Staffordshire Collections of Walter Chetwynd," in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and various original charters of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., now at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, as well as a list and notes of MSS. at Stafford Castle.

The above are cited here as "Chetw. Staff. Coll.," and as "Phillips' MSS.," and "Stafford MSS." Amongst the latter are some interesting notes of Matthew Worswick (cited here as Worswick's), who appears to have acted as Steward of the Stafford Estates about the middle of the seventeenth century; the same it is believed was Mayor of Stafford a little later. The name is well known in the annals of the borough. Sir Simon Degge speaks of a Thomas Worswick as a lawyer. His manuscript volumes in the Ashmolean and Salt libraries attest the proficiency as an antiquary of a previous Thomas Worswick. The Phillips Collection at Cheltenham numbered $\frac{7904}{15}$ contains fifteen documents concerning Rickerscote; one of them is an Extent, the writing of which is unfortunately so pale as to be illegible. Of the fourteen others, three relating also to Rickerscote have been printed in the "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. VIII., Part I., and the remaining eleven appear either as transcript or abstract in these pages. These and the other additional references serve to identify names, already mentioned, as those of Bailiffs and Chief Magistrates of the adjacent borough, and do not otherwise need excuse, for the documents hitherto brought elsewhere to bear upon the various subjects have been fewer than they might have been, and have been used to establish conclusions which further research shows to be fallacious.

The paragraphs transcribed verbatim in the note below are from Matthew Worswick's notes, collected "out of the Records of Stafford Castle;" the folio is cited as transcribed in Chetwynd's "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., p. 159, *et seq.*¹ The entries, sometimes hasty, illspelt, and very concise, are printed as found.

¹ Herveius Bagott and Millizant his wife confirmed to Will. Wymer of Stafford the mill of Stafford which Robert de Stafford gave unto him *cum coopertura et herba vivar, a veter castelo (vinarii, a veteri castello)*, with warrant to constrayne men that were wont and ought to come to the said mill, that they shall not goe from it; and for this homage was done to the said Barron in *curia nostra apud Stafford*; this deed hath no date. (*Worsw., fo. 28.*) On the next page great Courts of the Barony are mentioned as in both Bradeley and in Stafford.

Emmott the daughter of Nicholas Mile of the Castle of Stafford grants to Nicholas Baron of Stafford certain land in exchange within the towne of Stafford. (*Worsw., fo. 19.*)

Richard the sonn of Peeter granteth to Edmund Barron Stafford his land that hee had in the towne of the *Castle of Stafford*. Dated att the Castle of Stafford, anno Regis Edw. xx. (*Ibid., fo. 20.*)

Walter Attebruck granteth to Edmund Lord Stafford one messuage and a croft leading from the Castle of Stafford towne to Billington, which is called the Beare Croft, in Villa Castri. Staff., xxxiii. tertio (*sic*) Regis Edwd. (*Ibid., fo. 20.*)

In the Domesday census Burton and Rickerscote figure in hidal measurement as the most important berewicks of the great Stafford estate of Bradeley,

Roger the son of Richard the Goldsmith grants to John Egg lands in Burton and Richarscote. (*Ibid.*, fo. 295.)

Thomas de Erdesweeke (*sic*) releases to John Wade and to Henry Donley all his right which he hath in Mauerio de Amblecote *cum pertinentiis et cum omnibus tenementis que Johannes (? Humfridus) de Stafford habuit de dono et feoffament Will. de Stafford Milit., avi sui quæ descenderunt predict. Hump.*; amongst other places, in Stafford Castle, Billington, Richarscote, &c. (*Ibid.*, fo. 7.) (Chetw. Coll., Vol. II., at p. 172.)

King Edward in the 9th year of his reign over France, &c., grants to Ralph Barron of Stafford to build his Castle of Stafford with *stone and lyne*, and to make krenels in it. (See *supra*, pp. 80-1.) (*Ibid.*, fo. 26.)

Herveius Bagot grants to Ralph of Dilhorn all his lands called Billandbury in Billington.

John of Withehalle grants to Sir William of Caverswall certain lands in the fields of the Lees nere Billington.

Rich. domns de Caverswall grants *totum manerium et totam terram de Billembury* in Billington with all weffi, treffs, and west (waste) [quære to whom?].

Henry de Billington grants to Roger de Caverswall a half yard land in Billington by the payment of one pare of white gloves. (*Worsw.*, fo. 85.)

Roger de Caverswall had granted unto him by Richard of the Lees one half yard of land in Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 85.)

William Lord of Caverswall, Knight, gives to Roger Caverswall his brother a messuage with an orchard in Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 85.)

Richard de Leye grants to Roger de Caverswall one half yard land in the territory of Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 86.)

John Coyney of Weston grants to Roger de Caverswall all the land in the towne of Billington and Leys. (*Ibid.*, fo. 86.)

Thomas de Reynis gives to William Lord of Caverswall three yards land and a halfe in the towne of Billington, with releife wards and escheats. (*Ibid.*, fo. 86, 87, 88.)

Thomas the sonn of Robert Maule of Littywood grants to John of Pilehstocke (*sic*) three places of land in the towne of Littywood in the fee of Billington, *decimo sexto* Edw. III. (*Ibid.*, fo. 100.)

William de Caverswall grants to the Barron of Stafford his land and tenements in Lonedale in Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 101.)

William the sonn of Philip of Chetwynd grants to Ralph Erle of Stafford all his lands in Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 101.)

Phillip of Strongeshall releases to Ralph Erle of Stafford all the lands which sometime were our (*sic*) Vivian de Chetwind in Billington Lea Leighes (*sic*), and in the towne and Castle of Stafford. (*Ibid.*, fo. 101.)

Ralph Erle of Stafford recovers sein against William de Caverswall, Knight, of the mannor of Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 101, 102.)

Henry of the Marsh near Stafford grants to Ralph Baron of Stafford all his lands in Lonedale in Billington. (*Ibid.*, fo. 101.)

Philip of Strongeshall remiseth to Ralph Earl of Stafford the right in land in Billington and the Leye (Lees) of Billington, in the town of the Castle of Stafford. 20 E. III. (*Wors.* 23.)

The first five paragraphs, continued in this note on p. 123, are from Crompton Deeds in the Chetwynd "Collections of MSS.," Vol. II., p. 101. 5 James, Tho.

each consisting of two hides and a half ; but no conspicuous name appears as subtenant at Burton. Afterwards at an early date first appear there the Palmers. (*Supra*, p. 38.)

An exchange by John de Wenlok with Simon de Celario of a house and land in Coppenhall for an equivalent in Dunston, giving a life interest to Simon, and providing that the house should then remain to Margery, daughter of Philip de Stafford and his heirs, has Robert de Marisco and Richard le Paumer of Burton amongst other witnesses. Date at Coppenhall, 28 E. See the deed in full in the "Shropshire Arch. Transactions," Vol. IX., ii., p. 183.

Robert de Longrigge and Basilia his wife sued William le Tayllor of Burton for four acres in Stafford, and recovered them by default. (Plea Rolls, 4 E. I.; "Staffordshire Coll.," Vol. VI., p. 74.) They also sued, with what result does not appear, Robert, son of Stephen de Bromleye, for a messuage and eight acres of land in Burton near Stafford. (*Ibid.*, p. 74.)

Patent 5 E. I., m. 8. Tenements in Burton are in 1276-7 in dispute between William le Taylor of Burton as plaintiff, and Roger le Palmer of Burton and Philip de Ricardescote as defendants.

So in 1291-2, William, son of William de Burton, litigated with Hugh, son of William de Byrton, a claim to two acres and a half in Byrton near Stafford. (Pat. 20 E. I., m. 24, *in dorso*.)

In the Plea Rolls, "Staff. Coll.," Vol. VII., pp. 172 and 174, amongst the jurors for the Hundred of Cuthleston, 35 E. I., m. 16, appears Richard le Palmer of Burton ; and for the Liberty of Bradelegh appear William le Palmer, also Richard le Clet of Burton.

It is found by a Patent 31 E. I., 1302-3, m. 25, *in dorso*, that Richard and Adam la Dune were in litigation respecting tenements in Berton (Burton ?) near Stafford.

Crompton de Stone sold to Will. Chamberleyn *alias* Backhouse, all the tythes at Tillington ; and in 35 of Eliz. Will. Crompton of Stone sold all his tithes of Rowley and Billington to Rob. Sleaford of Perryhall ; both had been parcel of the deanery.

At p. 105 (*ibid.*) it is said, "These were the Prebends¹ of the Collegiate Church of Stafford : Forbridge, Burton, Riccarscote, Hopton, Whitgrave, Tillington, Creswall, Ingestre, Tixall. This List of Prebends is inexact (see the "Valor Ecclesiasticus"). All these were purchased by Mr. Crompton (*viz.*), Wiverston, Salt, Harberton, and Coton and Marston."

7 Jac.—Tho. Crompton grants a licence of alienation to Will. Sparry to sell his third part of Deanery of Stafford to Thomas Crompton, Esq.

15 Jac.—Tho. Crompton sells to Sir Edw. Littleton de Pillaton all the tithes of Burton and Ricardescote, parcel of the Deanery of Stafford.

35 Eliz.—Will. Crompton of Stone sells all the tithes of Rowley and Billington parcel of the Deanery of Stafford, to Robert Stanford, Esq., of Perry Hall. (Chetwynd, "Staff. Coll.," Vol. II., p. 101.)

In the year 1333, Roger the son of R. le Goldesmith granted to John son of Simon le Goldsmith all his messuages and tenements in Borton near Stafford. (See Philipps MS. 8045, at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.)

In the time of Henry VIII. came two miners or diggers, and promised the Lord Stafford to find water within xii. fodome in the space of thirteene dayes. But the first spade digging was hard marle, and so they gave it over. (*Worsw.*, fo. 1.) (See *supra*, p. 81.)

23 E. I. Mabel, formerly wife of Thomas de Milwich, litigates with Eva relict of Richard de Buterhale and his daughter Dionysa, a right to one-third of a messuage and one-third of half an acre of land in Forebridge. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VII., pp. 25, 26). Again, at p. 27, 23 E. I., Richard, son of Peter de Burton, and two chaplains disseise Felicia, relict of Peter de Bourton, of her free tenement in Forebryge near Stafford, viz., of a monthly rent of mixtilon or siligin (rye). It was agreed that Felicia should receive twelve bushels each month from the Hospital of St. John the Baptist near the bridge of Stafford.

Again (23 E. I.) Hugh, son of William le Louerd of Burton, is disseised of an acre of moor in Burton, by William, son of the Louerd, and others.

P. 167. Edmund de Stafford (*temp.* E. I.) granted to William of Frodswal one place called the Greene in fforbridge. (*Worsw.*, fo. 131.)

41 E. I. John de Wenlock witnesses as Bailiff of Stafford a grant by Alice, widow of Henry de Wivelston to Bunnt a baker of Stafford. (Phillips' MSS., Stafford Parcel.)

Humphrey Earl of Stafford grants to John Asbye of Stafford, parcells of land in fforbridge, whereof one parcel extends itself in length, &c., and he gives also *totum pasturabile* in the King's Pool in exchange for land in Leathercrofts (*sic*). (*Worsw.*, fo. 28.)

It appears from a deed (in the Phillips' Collection, 7902) that Humfrey Earl of Stafford (11 H. VI.) passed to John Askeby of Stafford a parcel of meadow in Forebridge, and a John Askeby (*ibidem*) by his will dated 1501, attested by Rich. Aston, Gent., Nicolas Lane, of Orton, Henry Slaney, Chaplain, George Boughey, Robert Doryngton, Gent., Rich. Offeley, "gardian" of the Friars Minors of Stafford, Thomas Melle of Chedill, and many others, devises to Thomas Robyns of Stafford certain houses, meadows, pastures, and other possessions *below the Castle*, and at Foregate, Coton Field, and in the Fee of Essington and Bushbury, and elsewhere in the county of Stafford. It directs his body to be buried in St. Thomas the Martyr's before the image of the Blessed Mary below the Chapel, and 20s. of his rents to be paid to St. Thomas the Martyr to preserve his Obitt. (See *supra*, Vol. VIII., part I.)

The great Cartulary at Ingestre, at pp. 25, 26, shows Philip Chetewynd, son of Richard Chetewynd of Ingestre, granting to his mother Thomasina, widow, for life, all her late husband's possessions in Stafford, in Forgate, in Forbrugge near Stafford, in Spytellfield, as well as elsewhere, which had belonged theretofore to William Frodesham, Esq., grandfather of the said Philip. This grant was made at Stafford, 9 H. V., and attested by Will. Preston and Will. Wroukeslowe, then bailiffs of Stafford. An indenture, 1433, which follows, says that previous owners of the said property had been in succession (1) an Erdinton, (2) a Sheld, then (3) a Bowode, (4) the said William Frodesham.

The Chetwynd property in Forbrugge is afterwards, at p. 36, described as follows :—

FORBRUGGE.

				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Pro duobus gardinis et parcellâ unius gardini		ij.	vij.		
Pro parcellâ terræ & prati....		...	viii.	0	

At p. 57, afterwards this property seems described as 2 cottages and 5 acres of pasture, etc., in Forbryge. Afterwards, at p. 60, the 2 cottages are called seemingly two messuages.

Gregory King, in his memorandum book, Salt MS. 147, at p. 157, tricks several shields as in the parlour window at Forbridge, and says, "These armes now stand in the parlour window at Forbridge, being there set by Mr. Drakeford's¹ grandfather, *circa an.* 1615, who bought the house of . . . Leigh, a citizen of London, and Leigh bought it about the year 1600 of ye Barbors of Flashbrook."²

The shields alluded to it is believed no longer exist, but the house is now occupied by Mr. Weston, and called the Green Hall. One shield, that in the "parlour window," represented argent a chevron sable bet. three eagles displayed sable, for Drakeford. There was another shield in another window of the same room, containing the canting device, arg. a drake proper passing through water azure.

The 26 E. 3. Ralph Earl of Stafford grants one piece of meddow under the Marsh near Stafford in exchange for other land in the Hough and in Prior's meddow within Stafford. (*Worsw.*, fo. 27.)³

¹ The Drakefords of Forbridge were connected by intermarriage with Wilkes, of Willenhall ("Staff. Coll.," Part II., p. 320), and with Babington, of Curboro'. (*Ibid.*, p. 24.)

² Mr. Barbour was bailiff of Forbridge for the Lords Stafford in the early part of the 17th century.

³ The Stafford MSS. at Blithfield (see *supra*, p. 105 n.) contain several statements, made evidently with a view of supporting claims that had been disputed or neglected; among those are the following, headed:—

The Case of the Castle Meadows and the Hyde Meadow.

Edward Lo. Stafford, tenant in tail, the reversion being in the }
Crown.

Granted to Agnes Sperwyn, widow, and to Jo. Sperwyn, by indre dated April 28, Eliz. 31, the moyetie and one halfe of the Castle Meadow and the Hyde Meadowes for the term of their lives, and after their deaths to their assigns for the life of one Joseph Weston, paying yearly xxx.s. iiij.d. rent.	} Proved by the old book of breviatt of leases, fo. 44.
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And the same Lord Stafford graunted unto Wm. Goldsmyth by indre dated Sept. 4, Eliz. 31, the other moytie of the sd. meadowes for the life of the sd. W. Goldsmyth, his son Henry, and Aline Tynghes, paying the like rent of xx.s. iiij.d.	} See the book of Turbrar (<i>sic</i>), fo. 40.
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The same MSS. gives a Rent Roll, under date seemingly of 1659. From this it appears that Lord Stafford had then more than a score of holdings in Stafford, the tenants named being Ric. Craver, Geo. Jownings, Tho. Clarke, Tho. Abnet, Widow Battye, Cath. Pegg, "Owld Till," Wid. Matthew, Edward Ward, Parson Martin, Francis Saunders, Will. Walth, Tho. Farden, Rich. Cluett, Thos. Perye, W. Davenport, Rewele (? Rowley), Rich. Farmer, Hitchcock, Jo. Mogg, Tho. Ward (house and meadow, Risingbrook Farm), Lane, Anne Greve, Jo. Blakemor, Jo. Cooke, Grabonar.

Henry Stafford grants unto Robert Rogothesley and others the disposition of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist when it shall next be voide. (*Ibid.*, fo. 133.)

It appears from the Pat. Rolls, 3 E. I., *m.* 9, *dorso* (59), and *m.* 10, *dorso* (36), that Henry le Forester, or le Freyter, and Margery his wife, arraigned a writ of mort d'ancestor against John de la Haleth or Hachl (? Halgh or Hough) concerning meadow land in Forebridge, and that the boundaries had been in question. (See 44th Report of the Dep. K., App. p. 108.)

Robert Prior of St. Thomas the Martyr grants to Ralph Earl of Stafford two pieces of meadowing, one called Backholm-in-the-Hough, and the other called the Prior's Meadow within the Park. (*Worres.*, fo. 23.)

Richard de Wenlocke grants to Ralph Barron of Stafford all his messuage and other lands in fforbrough de Stafford called le Haulghe, and in the Spittle juxta Stafford. (*Ibid.*, fo. 286.)

ffryer Robert Prior of St. Thomas the Martir nere Stafford and the Convent there doe release Ralph Erle of Stafford xij*l.*, a yearly rent issueing out of the Hough. (*Ibid.*, fo. 287.)

Hyde Manor.—With reference to an observation of General Wrottesley alluded to at p. 30, *supra*, I regret to say that what I there wrote has not his concurrence. General Wrottesley writes to say that he “adheres to the opinion expressed in his notes on the Liber Niger, “Staff. Coll.,” Vol. I., that the anonymous manor in Domesday is Weston Jones, and that the fief of Hyde and Holedale is the same as the fief of Coppenhall under another name, the nomenclature changing when the manorial court was moved from Coppenhall to the Hyde near Stafford.”

Hyde Manor.—Amongst Mr. Heveningham's deeds *apud* Chetwynd, “Staff. Coll.,” Vol. II., p. 79, is a grant, whereby Will. Bagot dom. de la Hyde passed to the Lord Will. Wyther for his homage and service fifteen

	£	s.	d.
Those tenants' rents amounted to	105	16	4
Lambercotes parc. of, and ditch meadow	47	8	4
King's Pool (bated of the water), ten meadows to different tenants	26	6	4
Stafford Pool, five meadows, house, and leasow barn.. ..	22	0	0
Forebridge, nearer Hough (Rob Talbot), and further Hough Dorrington, Spittle meadow	21	0	0
(There seems some omission or inaccuracy in the items, which do not here correspond with the sum)	266	16	0
Other lands, meadows, Castle hills, Church field, black pool, &c., sum	350	16	8
Neighbouring towns, <i>inter alia</i> , Coppenhall, Sir Tho. Whitgreave, some land	8	0	0
Billington, sum	296	2	2

Another extract from the same MSS. enumerates as part of the Stafford estate, “ffoure tenements or cottages in fforbridge, ffoure pooles of land called Stafford Pooles in Silkmore, one pool of land called Stafford poolehead adjoining to the sd. Stafford Pooles. One meadow in Silkmore abutting upon the sd. Stafford Pooles. Certayne pools of land in fforbridge, being a fourth part of the Lambercoates.”

virgates of arable land in Coppenhale, rendering to the donor 1*d.* annually, and paying down 120 (*sexies viginti*) marks of silver. Witnesses: Dom. Jo. de Chetwynd, Dom. Will de Caversall, Dom. Phil. de Chetwynd, Dom. Tho. de Draycot, Dom. Joh. Tuschot, Bertram de Bur, etc., same date. At an early date (Pat. Rolls, 1 E. I., *m.*, 5, *in dorso*) Robert de Cressewelle is in dispute with William Bagod and others concerning tenements in Boterhall. A little later, 2 E. I., *m.* 21, *in dorso*, we find Richard Bagot arraigning an assize of novel disseisin against William Bagod, concerning tenements in La Hide. By suit undefended in the 7th of E. I., Richard Bagot recovered against William Bagot his Manor of La Hide, excepting Coppenhale and La Leye, and his manor of Pateshull and its members, Byonhill and Snoddon. ("Staffordshire Coll.," Vol. VI., p. 141.) It appears from the same volume, at p. 75, text and note, that the parties had entered into a special agreement respecting Hide and Patshull, and their descent after the death of William to his sons in succession in respective intail. Shaw cites a deed to the same effect. ("Hist. of Staffordshire," Vol. II., p. 280; see also *infra*, p. 131, last para.). Ralph Baron de Stafford dates at the Hyde a grant of property in Norton-super-le-Mores, sealed the 10th year of Edward III. (Hadfield MSS., in Salt Collection, No. 30.) But note that two years afterwards it is said by Mr. Worswick that Richard (error? for Ralph) Baron of Stafford grants to Allen Brid his manors of Bradeley and Madeley, with the advowson of the Churches. Dated apud manerium de Stafford, 12 Edw. III. (*Worsw.*, fo. 260.)¹

Another deed concerning the same is dated apud manerium nostrum de Lay (? Lea) Hide juxta Stafford, but without date of time; it would not seem to have preceded the last.

The two following extracts enable the reader to contrast Stafford manors.

In an inquest ad quod damnum, 8 E. III., No. 68 (second Nos.), Ralph de Stafford is said to hold the two manors of Hide and Norton as if he had held the whole of each; they were worth £20 per annum. And of Hide he died seised, for it appears in the inquest at his death, to have consisted of one messuage, also a certain park whereof the herbage is worth 40*d.* beyond the support of the deer, without any underwood, also two carucates of land worth by the year 26*s.* 8*d.*, also four acres of meadow worth by the year 5*s.*, also two fish ponds worth by the year 4*s.* But in the inquest at the death of the next Earl, only two-thirds of Hide are mentioned (the messuage is omitted entirely), and two parts of the manor, two parts of the park, and two parts of two carucates of demesne land. It is noteworthy that for this estate and members of the Castle Manor there were rents of assize, as well of free tenants as of others, amounting to £32 13*s.* 2½*d.*, and also six barbed arrows.

Hide continues to figure only for such two-thirds in the inquests at the deaths of the respective Earls who had held it until, as before mentioned, it was transferred to a member of the junior branch, *i.e.*, of Hook. We see no mention of it in such records later than in the inquest at the death of Earl Edmund, 4 H. IV., No. 41. But the last-mentioned estate is therein treated as distinct from Coppenhall, as it is in the inquest of the previous Earls.

¹ Edmund de Stafford held the Manors of Bradeley and Madeley anno regni Regis Edw. II. (*fo.* 256 and 257.) (Chetwynd MSS. "Staff. Collections," Vol. II., p. 163.)

The grants by Ulfer and Richard fil. Simon de Butterhall cited from Huntbach and Loxdale (*supra*, p. 28) are repeated in Worswick's "Notes from Stafford MSS." Worswick proceeds; William Bagot, Knt., grants to Ralph the son of Edmund Baron of Stafford all his mannor of Hide. (This must have been previously to the 8th of E. III.; see *Worsw.*, fo. 138, 159.)

Hugh Erle of Stafford grants to divers persons all his lands which he hath in Copenhale. (*Ibid.*, fo. 110.)

Hugh Erle of Stafford grants away the manor of Hide and land in Copenhall. (*Ibid.*, iii.)

A fine levied concerning Hide. (*Ibid.*, fo. 158.)

The subject of the Hydes is obscure, from the absence of the requisite documentary evidence. The obscurity can only be dissipated by the direct testimony of charters and records. Loxdale and Huntbach accept the tradition (*supra*, pp. 28, 29) which says that "Hyde went after by daughters to the Lords Stafford and Verneys." The same writers regarded the Hydes as mentioned in Domesday Book; they do not say under a different name. But be this as it may, the Staffords held both Hyde and Coppenhall *in capite*, and afterwards occupied for a time an estate which they called the Manor of Hyde. Ralph de Stafford's possession of the manors of Hide and of Norton is assigned as a reason for the King's allowing him to alienate other property (Inq. ad qd. damnum, 8 E. III., No. 68, second Nos.), until it was transferred to the Staffords of Hook.

In the 56 H. III., Thomas de Renes had remitted to Nicholas son of Robert de Stafford all his right to sixty acres in La Hide. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. IV., p. 195.)

At an early period Hide was spoken of in conjunction with land called Holedale. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. II., p. 275.) Holedale exists no longer, if it ever did, as a single estate; the very name is lost in its integrity, but may partly survive in four closes in Coppenhall, to the east of Hyde Lea, although next adjoining the extreme boundary of the manor of the Castle in the vicinity of a place called the Moss Pit. The closes are numbered in the Tithe Reference Book 239, 243, 241, 242, and they are named: Part of Coppenhall Hole, part of Big Coppenhall Hole, Little Coppenhall Hole, and Coppenhall Hole Meadow. Together they contain some sixteen or seventeen acres, and the ancient terminal syllable "Dale" is not inappropriately used here. Holedale may have also been called Hodeden. Will. Bagot of Hodeden is witness to a deed towards the end of the twelfth century. (See "Staff. Coll.," Vol. II., Part II., p. 135, and Vol. IV., p. 112.) The two words suggest a hollow or a dell.

In the Pat. Roll 54 H. III., m. 20, *dorso*, Robert de Marisco is at aw with Ralph Wymer concerning a certain fishpond constructed in Fording-brigge.

So Robert of the Marsh near Stafford (Pat. Roll, 5 E. I., m. 131) claims common of pasture in the Marsh against Nicholas Barun (? Baron of Stafford) and others.

In the 5th year of E. I. (Pat. Roll, m. 13, *dorso*), Robert of the Marshe near Stafford arraigns an assize of novel disseisin against Nicholas Barun and others concerning common of pasture in the Marsh near Stafford.

It appears from a Close Roll of the 19 H. III. (m. 11, *dorso*), that amongst other Sheriffs, the Sheriff of Staffordshire was commanded,

as he valued himself, to endeavour to capture the murderers of Maurice Fitzgerald, Justiciar of Ireland, amongst whom were William de Marisco and his family, whether of the Marsh near Stafford does not appear. But all the murderers, having been arraigned, had fled, and were supposed to be making for the sea in order to embark for the Isle of Lundy in Cornwall.

Thomas de Pipe grants to Henry of the Marsh and Margery his wife lands in the Marsh nere unto Stafford. (*Worsw.*, fo. 271 and 272.)

Temp. Ric. II., Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knight, held half a Knight's fee in Rickerscote. (Chetw. Coll., Vol. II., he cites an inquisition of Knights Fees, but it is at page 29, towards the middle of the volume.)

Amongst the Phillipps' MSS. (see note 1 on pp. 129, 130, 131) one, *s. d.*, endorsed, "Ista terra et dominiū sunt de terra de Ricardescote," is as follows:—

"Sciānt presentes et futuri quod ego Adam filius Roberti de . . . ston concessi &c. Ricardo sconario manenti in villa Stafford pro homagio et servicio suo triginta seliones terræ in territorio de Ricardescote quorum duo

¹ By charter *s. d.*, Roger Selymon de Stafford grants to his daughter Emma and heirs, a messuage and half a "wara" and twelve acres of arable land, *cum toto prato suo*, and other appurtncs. in Ricardescote; in failure of heirs to revert to grantor. Warranty sealed (but seal gone). Witnesses: Roger le Palmer de Burton, Will. le Palmer of the same, Robert and Will. de Salter de Ricardescote, Richard Kyri of the same, John atte Walle of the same, and others.

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus præsens scriptum visuris vel audituris Simon fil. Simonis del Celer capellanus eternam in dño salutem. Noveritis me remisisse Robto Selymon de Staff. hed. vel suis assignatis totum jus meum et clameum quod, &c., in toto illo crofto cum suis ptbns. quod vocatur le Stonecroft jacente inter terram Prioris St. John Baptist et venellam quæ se ducit versus Ricardescote: Videlicet illud quod Adam Waldum tenuit de me ad terminum vitæ sue, &c. Hiis testibus, Johe de Pikstok & Johe le Marchal tunc (*sic*) ballivis Staff.; Johe de Wenlok, Willo Reyner, Robto Morice de Ricardescote, Rico Kyr de eadem, Ric. fil. Dni atte Walle de eadem, et aliis. Dat apud Staff. die Martis in festo de Bartholomei apli., anno regni Regis Edwardi quinto." (Seal gone)

21 E. III. Rob. Selymon, son and heir of Roger Selymon of Stafford, grants to Agnes daughter of Robert atte Townsende of Ricardescote, the three butts of (arable) land . . . Ricardescote lying in the field called Le Croftes, between the land of Will. atte Townsende on the one side and other land of . . . Robert at the Townsende of Rickerscote of the other side. To have and hold the said three butts for ever to the said Agnes and her heirs from the over lord for customary and due services. Rendering to me annually and my heirs and assigns 6d. of silver twice, *i.e.*, . . . and on the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary Virgin, in equal payments for all services, &c. Warranty.

"Hujus testibus: Rog. le Palmer, Rich. le Palmer, Johe de Hugford, Jo. atte Walle, Rich. Kyrie, et aliis. Dat apud Ricardescote die Jan. px. ad fest: Sancte Marie . . . anno regni Regis Edward tercii 21."

23 E. III. An Indre. bet. Roger at the . . . de Hughteston, John Cunfrey, Chaplain, and Philip of Hughteston (Hixon) de Stafford on the one side, and the Prior and Convent of St. Thomas the Martyr near Stafford of the other part, whereby the former grant to the latter and their successors all their lands and tenements with the appurtncs. in Ricardescote, and a "place" of meadow called Cowesholm, (?) and a "place" of meadow called Stokkings, near the meadow of Selkmore with the appurtncs., "*que fuerant*" of the gift and feoffment of

seliones jacent in heyweyes furlong inter terram quam Galfridus de Coppenhall tenuit et terram quam Thomas de Ricard. tenuit et duo jacent

Robert fitz Roger Selymon of Stafford, *sine ullo* (retenemento), for the term of thirty years next following, for a certain sum of money payable to the said Roger, John, and Phillip, and rendering to them a red rose at the feast of St. John the Baptist for all services. Warranty.

Witnesses: Matene (Malcolino ?) de Wasteneys, Knt., Will. his son, John de Hufegford of Ricardescote, Rich. le Palmer, Robert de Waller, John de Hanegate, Hugh Senshe, and others. Dated at Ricardescote. Small white round seal.

23 E. III. Rob. son of Rog. Selymon of Stafford grants to Roger called . . . de Hugteston, Jo. Beffrey, Chaplain, and Phil. de Hughteston de Staff. all his lands and tenements in Ricardescote, without any reserve, and a "place" of meadow called Cockesholm, and two parts of a "place" of meadow called the Stockings, near the meadow of Selkemor. Also the reversion of a part of the third part of the said piece of land with appurtenances, which Alicia Selymon my mother holds in dower of my inheritance, and which after her death reverts to me and to my heirs, to them and their heirs, &c., for ever (rendering due service to the lord), with warranty.

Witnesses: Nicho Reyner, Jo. de Hufegford of Ricardescote, Rico le Palmer, John atte Walle of Ricardescote, Rob. by the Water of Salte, and others. Given at Ricardescote, &c.

A.D. 1333. Roger fil. R. le Goldesmith granted to John fil. Simonis le Goldsmith all his messuages and tenements in Borton near Stafford. Witnesses: Roger le . . . , Henry le . . . , Rich. and Roger, Roger &c. (Phillipps' MSS. 8045, No. 509.)

20 E. III. Convention made between Robert del Egge and Emma his wife of one part, and John son of Rich. de Bilinton of the other, viz., that Rob. and Emma have granted to and demised to John nine acres of arable land and all their meadow, &c., in Ricardescote, of which acres three lie in a certain croft called Selimonescroft, with three *foreires* in the same croft, and one selio lies in le Aspes, viz., between the land which was Roger le Goldsmith's on the one part, and the land of Alice of Bedenhalle of the other, and an acre of two selions abuts upon the mere and lies namely, between Alice of Bedenhall's lands on one side, and the land of Letitia Marel on the other side, and one selion extends near the high road leading from Stafford to Dunston, and lies in sooth between the land of Robt. Selymon on the one side and the land of John at the Wall on the other, and one selio abuts upon the ovende (?) and lies between the land of Rich. Kyrie on one side and that of Rich. de la Donne on the other, and one selion called le Stanri half acre lying between the land of Alice de Bedenhale on one side and the land of Ric. Kyrie of the other, and three acres in Hankesmorefeld, of which two selions lie in the Weterenes, and a half acre extends to the polsuche, and lie, viz., between Rich. Kyrie's land on one side and Robert Selymon's on the other, and two selions lie atte Crosacre, namely, bet the land of Rob. Selymon on one side and the land of Alice de Bedenhale of the other, and one acre extends to the full syche and lies in sooth between Rich. Kyrie's land on the one side and the land of Thomas le . . . exelea (?) and one selio lies at Stonylowe, viz., between the land of Rob. Selymon on one side and the land of Alice de Bedenhale on the other. Hab. and tenend. to the sd. John and his assigns with all, &c. Reddendo annually to the said Robert and Emma annually and heirs for next six years, 20s. of silver; and conditions, remainders, and warranty follow. Witnesses: Jo. de Hufegford, Rob. de Salt, Rich. Kyrie, Jo. at the Walle, Will. at the Townsende, and others. Dated at Stafford.

sup. sumneri furlong inter terram quam dictus Thomas tenuit et duo jacent supra Wetenfurlong et [unus] sup. le fulshiche et unus seylio jacet sup. . . . furlong sup. terram quam dictus Thomas tenuit et unus jacet super Bromestefurlong et unus jacet in le Wetermel juxta terram dicti Thome et duo jacent in Alrecolrefurlong juxta terram dicti Thomæ et unus seylio extendit se versus Sartford (?) et unus seylio vocatur conflofris halfacre et unus extendit se versus . . . onedich et tres seylyones qui vocantour (*sic*) le foracre et quartuor seylyones qui . . . jacent et . . . se supra Marham et tres jacent ad capud quatuor seylyonum versus magnam marleram et inde extendunt se versus le fuletz (?) et unus extendit se versus le heyemor et vertit se super foreram dicti Thome et unus extendit se . . . Wychgammor et jacet juxta terram dicti Thome et unus jacet juxta le Heywey et terram dicti Thomæ et duo jacent supra hechene furlong juxta terram sepedicti Thome quos quidem seylyones . . . ex dono Simonis de Ricard. et Anabil uxoris sue. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis unum denarium ad festum Scti Mich^{is} et ad illud festum dicto Simoni de

Phillipps' MSS. 7904. 22 E. III. A final concord between Robert Selymon of Stafford, plaintiff, and Robert del Egge de Sreycote (Shredicote) and Emma his wife, defendants, whereby the latter admitted a messuage, thirty acres of arable land, and four acres of meadow with the appurtenances, in Burton and Ricardescote near Stafford, to be the right of Robert Selyman, and surrendered them to him to hold to him and his heirs as of the capital lands of that fee for the services to them pertaining, and for the payment by the plaintiffs to the defendants of 40 mares of silver.

23 E. III. John Geffrey de Stafford, Chaplain, quitclaims to Roger at the Lowe de Hughteston, Chaplain, of Stafford, all his rights in the land, &c., in Rickerscote which he had of the gift and feoffment of Rob. fitz Rog. Selyman of Stafford; also in place of meadow called Cockhole (?) and a place of meadow called the Stocking, near Selkemor, with the reversion.

Witnesses: Nich. Reyner, John de Hugeford de Rickerscote, Ric. le Palmer, John atte Walle de Reccarden, Robert by the water of Salt. Dated at Stafford.

23 E. III. Pateat universis me Robtum fil. Roger Selymon de Stafford ordinasse et loco meo constituisse dilectum mihi in Christo Adamum de Cherton Capell^m attornatum meum ad ponendum P atte Lowe de Hughteston, cappell^m et Philipppum Beffrey de Stafford Capell^m & Phil. de Hughteston de Stafford, in seisinam de omnibus terris & terr meis in Ricardescote sine ullo retenimento et de duobus placeis pti in quarum una vocatur le Stocking juxta pratum de Selkemor & alia placea vocatur Socholm (Cowsholm?). Dat. apud Stafford, die Sabti xvi. post festum Ascensionis.

Omnibus & Agatha fil. Rob. de Ricardescote salutem Noveritis me concessisse Rob. dicto le Paumer de Borton illud mess., &c., quod tenui(t) Rob. le Paumer.

The Phillipps' MSS. contain several other original charters respecting parts of Rickerscote granted in alms, but they also concern the Priory of St. Thomas the Martyr, and have therefore an appropriate place amongst the evidences of the Priory. (See *supra*, Part I.) They name places and persons mentioned also in the foregoing abstracts. One of them is a transfer to Robert the Prior made by Sir John Stafford, Knt. (Sir John of Lilleshull), of lands once Robert Selymon's of Stafford; another is a grant by Ralph Earl of Stafford, dated *apud manerium nostrum de la Hyde*, of land once Robert Selymon's, for the services of old thereto pertaining.

Ricard: et Anabil uxori sue et eorum heredibus unum alium denarium pro omni servicio seculari vel demanda, querelis et exigenciis et maye (?) pro omnibus sectis . . . curie ; pro hac autem concessione dedit mihi predictus Ricardus quinque marcas et decem solidos Wingorum (?) præ manibus. Ego vero Adam et heredes mei vel assignati mei omnes predictos seyliones cum omnibus suis pertinenciis predicto Ricard. et heredibus suis vel assignatis vel delegatis pro predicto servicio in omnibus rebus, socis, et temporibus contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warantzabimus, & ut mea concessio robor firmitatis in perpetuum obtineat eam sigilli mei impressione roboravi. Hujus testibus : Johanne Morice, Ricardo bracon, Roberto le puerei (?), Thoma. de Borton, Pecco fratre dicti Thome, Ricardo de Ricarde : Willelmo Scheld et aliis."

(A Will. Sheld witnesses Charters of St. Thomas' Priory. Phillipps MSS. 7897, No. 533. Seal gone.)

We find from the 44th Report of the Deputy Keeper, App., p. 223, that Walter le Warner sued Nicholas de Stafford and Ralph le Bedle, touching a tenement in Rickerscote, in the 3rd E. I., Pat. Roll, *m.* 10*d* (37), and that the same Walter le Warner sued the same Nicholas de Stafford and Robert de Burley in the same year. (Pat. Roll, *m.* 35*d* (5).)

A Roger Brakin grants, 21 E. III., a tenement in Bradeley to Ralph Earl of Stafford. (*Worsw.*, fo. 80.)

Sir Humfrey Trafford, knight, at one time held Ricardescote from Willm. Earl of Stafford. (See the Inq. at the Earl's death, 22 Ric. II.)

A fine of novel disseisin arraigned by Richard le Gurdlere against Simon de Ricardescote and Anibella his wife, concerning tenements in Ricardescote. (*re* Pat. Roll, 6 E. I., *m.* 5.)

In the previous year ended, we find (Pat. Roll, 5 E. I., *m.* 8) William le Taylor of Burton claiming tenements at Burton against William le Palmer of Burton and Philip de Ricardescote. In the year 1274 we find Nicholas de Stafford and Ralph le Bedel defendants at the suit of Walter le Warner, concerning tenements in Ricardescote. Another entry of the same year (Pat. Roll, 3 E. I., *m.* 35, *in dorso*) makes Nicholas de Stafford a co-defendant with Robert de Burley at the suit of the same Warner also for tenements in Ricardescote.

Petronilla wife of John Morice of Rickerscote, who had been guardian in soccage for their son Robert, was called upon to give an account of Robert's lands during his minority. ("Staff. Coll." Vol. VII., p. 78.)

Harvey Bagot (22 E. I.) held under Edmund de Stafford, son of Nicholas, a messuage and two carucates of land in Rickerscote, and Richard, son of John Morys, occupied them as under tenant, rendering certain service. Of this service Edmund de Stafford acquitted him. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VII., p. 8.)

Chetwynd, Staff. Col., Vol. III., p. 166, mentions, from original evidences, Rob. Morys, dom. de Ricardescote, 4 E. II.

At a subsequent date the jurors declared it would not be to the damage of the King if William de Lilleshall, Baker, granted 2 virgates and 12 acres of land, etc., in Ricardescote, Eburton, and Coton near Stafford to the Priory of St. Thomas the Martyr.¹ They said moreover that the Prior was mesne

¹ The Fowler estate in A.D. 1649 included property at Rickerscote (presumably once belonging to St. Thomas Priory) valued at £4 per annum. (Royal Compositions, Salt Transcript, Vol. II., p. 731.)

landlord between the King and the said William. (Inq. ad qd. dampnum, 21 E. III., No. 62.) In the Chetw. MSS., Vol. II., p. 133, amongst Whitgreave deeds, is the following abstract :—

“Sciant &c. qd Ego Johes del Croft vici de Berkswich dedi &c. John de Aston de Salt, Margeriae Selyman de Stafford, ad totum vitam ipsius Margeriae & Johi de Briggeford, filio Adæ Waterson de Briggeford, & hæ. & assignatis ipsius Johis de Briggeford omnia ten. mea de Ricardscote, quæ nuper habui de dom & feofmento Hugonis de Norton in feud. in perpetuum &c. Teste : John Clifton, Will. Palmer, &c. 18 Ric. II.

A piece of meadowing in Ricardscote (is) called Rereholme. (*Worsw.*, fo. 295. 6 E. VI.) At this date, on the 31st July, died Thomas Rugeley, Esq., who is shown by the inquisition to have held Rickerscote from Humphrey Whitgreave.

Amongst the Royal Compositions in the Salt MSS., Vol. II., p. 857, a Humfrey Gouldsmith is mentioned as paying £14 for two years' tenure of land at Rickerscote, under the Commonwealth, A.D. 1651, 1652.

Radford Bridge stands on what was the edge of the ancient Forest of Cannock, and indicates one of its approaches, for Dugdale (*Warw.*, p. 138) tells us that Hugh de Loges held five tenements in Chesterton (co. Warwick), by the service of conducting the Earl of Chester towards the King's Court through the midst of the Forest of Kanok; meeting him at Rotford bridge, upon notice of his coming, and at Hopwas bridge upon his return; in which forest the Earl might, if he pleased, kill a deer in his going, and another at his coming back; giving unto Loges at each time he should attend him a barb'd arrow.

We find from the Pat. Roll, 5 E. I. (1276-7), *m.* 9, *dorso*, that Richard de Roulowe arraigned an assize of novel disseisin against Peter the Prior of St. John near Stafford and Henry le Fevre concerning tenements in Roulowe.

William de Mortuomari (Mortimer) and R. de Bellafago were appointed by Pat. 34 E. I. to take the assize of novel disseisin arraigned by Ralph le Teynturer of Forebrugge against Richard le Palmere of Burton and Felicia his wife and others, concerning common of pasture in Roulowe (Rowley) near Stafford.

By charter dated at Stafford 15 H. VI., witnessed by Jo. Holt & Jo. Cradoc, then Bailiffs of Stafford, and Jo. Bradley, Tho. Lych and Tho. Molot, Burgesses, and others, Thomas Fisher de Roulow near Stafford granted to Jo. Temmis and Tho. Browne, Chaplains, and to Will. Knighton and Ralph Bottiler, of Stafford, Burgesses, all his lands, &c., in Roulow aforesaid. (See Abstract by Bassano, Salt MS. 153, p. 35.)

Worswick notes also an extent of the Manor of Rowley (*fo.* iii.).

Temp. E. I. Juliana widow of Robert de Halghton claimed as dower a portion amongst places in Selkemor.

Margery wife of John de Rowelawe claimed (28 E. I.) in dower one-third of three acres in Rowleowe and Stafford. (“Staff. Coll.,” Vol. VII., p. 72.) The same widow apparently, though called Margaret, claimed (28 E. I.) as dower one-third of sixteen acres in Rowelowe and Stafford, eight and one-third of a messuage. (*Ibid.*, p. 76.)

In the 34 E. I., or about it, a common of pasture in Roulowe near Stafford was in litigation by John son of Ralph le Teynturer of Forebrugge, with Richard le Palmer, of Burton, Richard Kirry, and others; but the suit was

dismissed on Palmer's producing a deed which showed that he held the moor (? Silkmore) and marsh conjointly with Felice his wife and Richard his son, who had not been named in the writ. This appears to have been supplied, for a general result seems that no common in Ronelowe was appurtenant to an occupant in Forebrugge unless he also occupied lands in Ronelowe, the jury held that the claimant had been . . . ntly seized of his common tho . . . half moor and marsh. ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. VII., pp. 130-1.)

By his deed dated at Rouloue 20 Ed. II., on St. Martin's Day, A.D. 1326, John fitz John of Rouloue released for himself and heirs to John, son of William Bridoun all his claim to a messuage and curtilage and to twelve acres of land and adjacent meadow with appurtenances in Rouloue aforesaid, which came to him hereditarily and as reversioner under a gift in frank marriage made to the aforesaid William Bridon with Alice his wife, by Philip de Rouloue grandfather of John fitz John aforesaid: to the reversion in which lands and tenements contingent upon the death of the sons of the aforesaid Will. Bridoun without issue, the first John quitclaimed his right to the said John son of Will. Bridoun and his heirs for ever. Witnesses: Vivian de Chetwynd, Will de Caversall, Richard Kerie de Ricardscote and Rich. Atwell¹ of the same place; Richard the Dyer (Tinctor) of fferiebrugge; Henry de Marisco, Thomas fitz John de Rouloue, Simon de Melewich, and others. (See Salt MS. 153 (Bassano's), p. 34, second pagination. The copyist has written throughout Roulone, which I have altered to Rouloue.)

A.D. 1654. The Trustees for the sale of fee farms certified that Henry Brandreth had purchased that day from them the rent for £10 reserved for the site of the Priory of St. Augustine near Stafford, amounting to £64 3s. 2d. ob. (Royal Compositions, Vol. I., p. 437, Salt Transcript.)

Richard Attewell of Richardescote claimed against Robert de Dokesey and Beatrice the widow of Hugh de Akesey (Dokesey) common of pasture in Solkmore (Silkmore) appurtenant to his free tenement in Richardescote, of which Hugh formerly husband of Beatrice and brother of the said Robert, whose heir he was, had unjustly disseised him. (Plea Rolls, 3 E. I., abstracted "Staff. Coll.," Vol. VI., p. 72.)

Radulphus de Stafford grants to Richard Wenlock of Stafford one place of more (moor) in fforbridge de Stafford, neer to the petepuls in Selkemoore as it is ditched about ad faciendum vivarium, 8 Ed. II. (*Worsw.*, fo. 21.)

Richard the son of John of Wenlocke grants to Ralphe the son of Edmund Baron of Stafford totum vivarium called Selkemoore poole, dated 1329. (*Worsw.*, fo. 21.)

Ralph de Stafford, the heir of Edmund Baron of Stafford (*temp.* E. III.), remiseth to John of Wenlocke de Stafford (*sic*) lands that did belong to the Priory of the Hospital of Ratford, with appurtenes. in fforbridge nere to the petypulle in Selkemoore. (*Worsw.*, fo. 131.)

Henry of Huntingdon² praised the town from which he derived his name,

¹ See Richard Attewelle in Plea Roll of 5 E. I., "Staff. Coll.," Vol. VI., Part I., p. 81.

² *Huntendonia vero, id est mons Venatorum, loco Godmuncestre, nobilis quondam urbis, nunc vero villæ non inamabilis, ex alia parte fluminis sita, Castris duobus*

for the convenient proximity of the fens, and its great advantage for hunting and fishing, its pleasant situation, its handsomeness and beauty. "But," says Mr. Southey, in his life of Cowper, "since his time thirteen out of fifteen churches have been demolished or have fallen to ruins; a priory of regular canons, a house of Augustinian friars, and two hospitals for lepers and poor people have been destroyed; and of its large castle, placed on a commanding site above the Ouse, and supposed to have been a Roman work, no vestiges remain above ground." Our thoughts revert to the subject which this paper has passed rapidly in review. Here too the marshes and woods and forests are gone; here too castles, churches, hospitals, and chapels have perished by the hand of violence more than the decay of time. No Royal Chapel with numerous prebends and dependent chapels any longer exhibits an epitome of early ecclesiastical life and organization. Friaries are down, their places hardly know them more, and no remnant even is left; but perhaps here and there brief walls of "bur" stones still mark old or serve for new limits, or a glistening fragment of alabaster or ancient masonry, whose origin their owner scarcely knows, peeps forth from garden decorations. Canals and railroads as means of intercommunication have taken the place of narrow deep worn lanes, or trenched upon the course of ancient roads or highways; faubourghs have become at once less in size and more populous, and the borough has been enlarged; parishes have been divided and fresh districts formed, marshes have been drained and embanked; the vicinity of the county town as well as the town itself bears upon its face the evidence of its own and the nation's history, of the increase of population, and notwithstanding checks at times, of the advance of trade, of the fusion of classes, of the growth of municipal institutions and of liberty.

prædictis, tam situs fulgore, quam sui decore; tam prædictarum paludum vicinitate quam ferarum et piscium fertilitate longe præminet. (Henrici Huntind. Hist., Liber VI., ad annum 1010.)

APPENDICES.

Appendix A, p. 2, par. 3.

The inconsistency of topographical writers up to his own time appears unconsciously to the writer himself in Gough's additions to Camden, and in a less degree in Harwood's notes to Erdeswick's "Survey of Staffordshire." Even Sir Harris Nicolas¹ speaks of the Castle on the Hill as having been built by William the Conqueror. (MS. note to Banks' "Dormant and Extinct Baronage," Salt Library.) Mr. Eyton himself vacillated in opinion; called the subject a part of a great problem, for which he adopted a strange solution, taking a Baron's castle to have been the King's, in spite of their sites in different hundreds, and the contemporary mention of the two castles in subsequent records. (Staffordshire Domesday, Addenda, p. 135; "Staff. Coll.," Vol. I., p. 20; Vol. II., p. 78.) So also Nightingale (A.D. 1817), p. 884, confounds the two castles; and White ("Staffordshire," ed. 1851), p. 324, tells us again that the Castle on the Hill was built by William the Conqueror.

Nearer the time, and more exact in what he affirms, Erdeswicke says, pp. 144-5-6, on the other hand: "The town has been walled (as I take it) round about, whereof some part remains, and the rest sheweth by the ruins where they have been; and *there hath been also a castle within the town*, but now it is quite decayed. The castle which now standeth on the south side, and is half a mile or more from the town, hath and doth belong to the earls and barons of Stafford. The said castle that now is, was builded by Raufe, first earl of Stafford, as the report is, and not unlike to be true; and yet I have a certain deed, dated apud castrum juxta Stafford, long before the said Raufe; so that it would seem, that Raufe earl of Stafford did re-edify the said castle and not new build it."

Sir Simon Degge in a note to Plot's "Staffordshire," in the University Library (Cambridge), has these words: "There was a castle within the Towne neere the Broad eye and a bancke called the Castle Banck, in my tyme." (Degge, b. 1612, d. 1702-3). Mr. Speed in his map of Stafford takes notice of Castle Hill there.

So a map in the Office of the Clerk of the Crown, Stafford, corroborates Speed, with the addition that the slight elevation where now stands a mill near the new bridge marks the spot where once stood the castle of Edward the Elder, and the ownership of the meadow between the site and the river this map assigns to Lord Stafford. The great family whose "caput baroniæ"

¹ In a manuscript note of Sir Harris Nicolas written in the margin of his copy of "Bank's Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England" (now in the Salt Library), Vol. II., p. 520, I find as follows:—

"Sir William Jerningham cleared the basement story of Stafford Castle about 1800, showing the form and extent of the baronial fortress. Sir George Jerningham his son, Lord Stafford, rebuilt one front on the old foundation. The mount on which the castle stands is about 105 feet by 50 feet. The walls are 8 (?) feet in thickness." And then he adds, following the old blunder, "it was *founded by Will. Cong.*, and rebuilt by Ralph E. of Stafford." See also *supra*, pp. 118-9 n.

was in the immediate vicinity of the town, encouraged by the favour of kings and the flattery of the municipality, had thought that the town too was theirs by right, or that it would soon become so. The existence of an old castle within the town follows not merely from the Worswick Notes, *supra*, p. 121, but from municipal entries to which I have been obligingly referred by a former Mayor of Stafford, Mr. William Jones, who has long been occupied in tracing the annals of his native town. Thus the Bayliffe and Burgesses (18 June, 10th E. IV.) grant to John Norbury and his heires one parcel of ground lying between Old Castle Hill and a way leading into the meadows, reserving 6*d.* rent; also again, 10th March, 9 Eliz., they grant to Oliver Woodhouse a piece of ground lying on the east side of the Castle Hill at the Broad eye. (Salt Transcript, pp. 231-2.)

The Stafford knot is apparent upon the arms of two of the Borough Seals ("Staff. Coll.," Vol. III., 2nd Part, and Speed's map.) On the arms of the town of Stafford in the College of Arms a figure represents a square castle in perspective, with four round towers, two Stafford knots are in chief, whilst one lion passant guardant is at the base, clearly intended to denote an ascendancy of the Ducal family in the town, where the king had been dominant before, for on an older seal of the borough (*ibid.*) a castle was represented as surrounded by lions (five) alone. But even the first Earl, according to Worswick, "seemed to regard the borough as his" (*supra*, p. 59). This illusive view the Royal Commissioners encountered with the emphatic asseveration (p. 105), that "the towne of Stafforde . . . contynually aforetime harth bene the kinggs towne, albeit the benefits in the same and landes lying aboute it wer the late Duke of Buckinghams."

A very small volume in the Salt Library, entitled "Ioachimi Perionii de vitis Apostolorum liber," A.D. 1552, has on the title page the signature of Edward Stafford, grandson of the last Duke, and at the end the following strange statement in the same hand of the 16th century: "The town of Stafford being once caulled Bethney, was chaungid at the building of Stafford Castle to the name of the Lord of the Castle, that is to say, Rauf Earle of Stafford!" So persistent was the pretension or self-deception of the Staffords.

Appendix B, p. 2, paragraphs 1 and 2; and see also p. 74.

EXTRACT FROM PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE BARONIES CLAIMED BY SIR WILLIAM JERNINGHAM. PRINTED FOR PRIVATE USE, AUGUST, 1807.

The humble petition of Sir William Jerningham, of Cossey, in the county of Norfolk, Baronet, claiming to be Baron of Stafford, sheweth, etc. (here the descent from the conquest is set forth, and then) Robert de Stafford, that is, the fourth feudal chief, the petition proceeds to say, "was seised of the honor or baronial estate of Stafford, of which the *manor of Stafford* and *castle of Stafford* now in the possession of the petitioner *were* or *one of them was the head*," etc.

The patent granted by King Charles the first to Mary, sister and heir of Henry Lord Stafford, and her husband, Sir William Howard, Knt. of the Bath, is referred to in the petition, from which it appears that "the *manor of Stafford* had been from *ancient time head of the aforesaid barony, together with the castle of Stafford there parcel of the aforesaid manor*," etc.

Appendix D, p. 3, par. 2.

Suivant Brodeau, ce qui forme le château est une basse cour avec des fossés, un pontlevis, une grosse tour carrée & un moulin au bras audedans. Le Seigneur châtelain qui n'a point de château, peut quand bon lui semble, en faire construire un, sans que ses sujets puissent l'en empêcher. . . . Il n'y avait anciennement que les grand vassaux de la couronne qui eussent droit de bâtir des châteaux ou maisons fortes : ils communiquèrent ensuite ce droit à leurs vassaux, et ceux-ci le communiquèrent aux arrière-vassaux. (Répertoire Universel et raisonné du Droit ad verb. Château.)

The laws of "6 Août, 1793, and that of 13 pluviôse" directed the demolition of castles throughout France within two months, except where necessary for national service, *ibid.*

Appendix D, p. 3, par. 3.

"These castles which were so soon run up were probably built of wood, protected by the steep hills on which they were situated, and by a circle of walls, or sometimes too with deep ditches and ramparts which were made of the earth dug out of the ditches. There were others of which the chief defence was the water with which they were inclosed, being placed in low grounds, which had running streams in abundance, and these were called motæ, from whence we derive the word moats." (Lord Lyttleton's "Life of King H. II.," Vol. IV., p. 287.)

Confer. A. Sax. Chron. ad annum 1137.

Appendix E, p. 7, par. 1.

In the 11th year of E. II., Randle Basset was Governor of Stafford Castle. (Shaw's "Staffordshire," Vol. II., p. 44 ; S. P. Wolverston's Notes to Shaw, p. 291.) A few years later the Constable of Stafford Castle had to proclaim the flight of Mortimer. ("Parliamentary Writs," Vol. II., 17 E. II.) The King's gaol of Stafford and the King's gaol of the Castle of Stafford are expressions equivalent to one another. (Patent 44 E. III., *m.* 17 *in dorso.* 48 E. III., *m.* 6 *in dorso.*) So of the delivery of prisoners in the King's gaol of the Castle of Stafford, 19 E. III., *m.*

The King of his grace for the good service which Henry de Stafford had done for a long time time past and should do in the future, granted to him the office of the gaol of the King's town of Stafford (*officium gaolæ villæ nostræ de Stafford*), to have for his whole life in the same manner as William de London had the same during his life ; dated at Westminster, the 13th day of November. (Pat. 34 E. III., *m.* 14.)

By patent of 1 E. 4, *m.* 13 *dorso*, at York, the 12th May, the King commands John Bourghchier de Berners, Knt., Robert Harecourt, Knt., Walter Blount, William Milton, William Harecourt, John Harecourt, and John Seinbarbe (Saint Barbe), each and every one of them, to enter and seize into the King's hands the Castle of Egleshale, and the town and Castle of Stafford, and all the goods and chattels there which belonged to Henry late styling himself

King of England, or to Margaret his consort, or to his son Edward, and to keep the same until the King should ordaine otherwise.

So it was that in the following reigns commissions of gaol delivery were delivered on the 28th June, 1 Ric. III., 1483-4, to Humphrey Starkey, Knt., Chief Baron of Exchequer, Thomas Tremayle, and Humphrey Conyngesby, for Stafford Castle, which could be no other castle than the King's in Stafford, for the ducal castle was still in the hands of its owner, who had not yet been attainted; indeed, from the commissions of gaol delivery in the Appendix to the 4th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, at p. 140, we find out of thirty places serving as gaols, fifteen castles at Cambridge, Bedford, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Hertford, Launceston, Norwich, Oxford, Sarum Old, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Winchester, and Worcester.

Dugdale's suspicion of the first Robert de Stafford having been Sheriff, and been called so from having been Governor of the Castle, is strengthened by a remark of Mr. Wilkins ("Archæol.," Vol. XII., p. 144), who found that royal castles were frequently committed to the Sheriff, who was called Custos, or Keeper of the Castle; but Barons, he says, were called Constables of the Castles, and exercised royal power within their jurisdiction, which Sheriffs never did without a special writ for so doing.

So the King (Close Rolls, *ad annum* 1221, *m.* 16) directs the Barons of his Exchequer to allow to the Sheriff of Staffordshire the 5 marks bestowed by him upon works at the Gaol of Stafford. The connection of Sheriff and Royal Castle may have prevailed, in fact, long before it was prescribed by the 7th article of the Assize of Clarendon:—

"Et in singulis comitatibus [in] quibus non fuerint gaiolæ fiant in burgo vel in aliquo castello domini regis, vel [de] bosco ejus si prope fuerit vel de alio bosco propinquiori, per visum servientium regis, ad hoc, ut vicecomites in illis possint illos qui capti fuerint per ministros et servientes suos custudire." The utility of this law must have been popularly appreciated, for later in the year 1389, when the King had withdrawn castles from such employment, their restoration to the service of the different Sheriffs became, as appears from the following Petition, the successful reason which led to their recall:—

"A nostre Sieur le Roy, supplient ses liges Communes en ceste present Parlement, come diverses Chasteaux en diverses parties d'Engleterre furent et ont esté de tout temps appartenantz et ajoutez as offices des Viscontes, pour faire lour offices, et avoir lour gaole illoeges pour gardir lour prisons, tanqueore tarde, que nôtre dit Sieur le Roy ad grante la garde des pluours des ditz Chasteux as diverses gentz a terme de vie par procurement, par ont les ditz Viscontes n'ont nulle lieu en certain de faire lour offices, ne de gardir les prisons, a lour grant desease et damage du pays. Qe please a nôtre dit sieur grantir que les ditz Chasteux purront estre rejointz as offices des Viscontes avant ditz, en eovre de charitée, et pour profit de vôtre Roialme." (Rolls of Parlt., Vol. III., p. 275.) A.D. 1389.

Appendix E, p. 8, last par.

Before the 34th year of his reign, King Henry VIII. had ordered, under the authority of a statute and by proclamation, the sanctuary which had existed

in Manchester to be removed, first to Chester and then to the King's vill of Stafford. The King heard from the Sheriff that his castle and gaol which had been properly taken as a prison for the Courts of Stafford, is situated within the said vill, and that an ambiguity had arisen whether the said castle and gaol should be received as part of the sanctuary of the said vill. The King then proceeded to say that it was not, nor had it ever been, his intent that the said castle and gaol should be, or be reputed to be, any part of the sanctuary of the aforesaid vill. Such is the purport of the instrument which follows.

PATENT OF KING H. VIII.

Henricus Dei gratia, etc. Vicecomiti Staffordiæ salutem. Licet nuper Virtute cujusdam Actus parlamenti per breve nostrum tibi inde directum proclamari fecimus quod Villa nostra de Stafford infra Ballivam esset Villa Sanctuarii et quod Felones, Transgressores, et alii Malefactores illuc fugientes haberent Tuition et privilegium ibidem juxta Vim Formam et effectum Actûs et proclamationis prædict. ac aliorum Statutorum et Legum Regni nostri Angl. et cum ex Testimonio tuo et aliorum fide dignorum ligeorum accepimus quod *Castrum et Gaol* nostrum pro prisonibus in comitatu tuo captis et capiendis situatum sit *infra Villam prædictam* et quod quedam *ambiguitas orta est utrum dictum castrum & gaola*, pro parcella sanctuarii villæ prædictæ acciperetur, etc., sciatis, etc., quod non est nec unquam fuit intentio mea quod *prædictum Castrum sive Gaola* esset vel reputaretur aliqua parcella Sanctuarii prædicti, etc. Dat. 3^o die Augusti, a^o. regni nostri 34^o.

Thus the castle *and* gaol, and castle *or* gaol, are names of the same structure, *and within* the King's vill of Stafford, but the King declares that he never intended (*i.e.*, by his proclamation, which substituted Stafford for Chester as a place of sanctuary) that his castle or gaol should serve as part of the sanctuary.

The castle and gaol mentioned in this Patent cannot be in any way understood as meaning the Staffords' on the Hill, first because the instrument itself mentions the castle and gaol as being situated within the town of Stafford, and secondly because the Staffords' Castle forfeited to the King by the last Duke had been granted previously to the attainted Duke's son, Henry Lord Stafford and Ursula his wife. (See the Patent, second part, for the 23rd year of the reign of King Henry VIII.)

Appendix E, p. 11, par. 1.

In the more ancient times "Castel" did not necessarily mean of Roman origin, for Leland, "Collect.," Vol. II., p. 302, cites from the ancient chronicle of Malmesbury the text "sub castello de Bladon quod Saxonice vocabatur Ingelburne Castel, quod castellum constructum fuit a quodam rege Britanico."

The word "Castle" is certainly of wide application; so the Manor House of Macclesfield, which had come to the hands of Edward Stafford Duke of

¹ I translate *infra* within, according to the universal mediæval usage; see Duchesne *in voce*.

Buckingham, was called in the sixteenth century "the manor, castell, or capital messuage of Macclesfield" (see Earwaker's "East Cheshire," Vol. I., p. 476); but in 1398 John de Macclesfield had obtained from Rich. II. licence to crenellate it, *ibid.*

What has been said of the early centuries in France applies to Norman England. "War," says Guizot, "was everywhere; naturally the monuments of war, and the means to wage it or repel it, were everywhere too. Not only did they build castles, they converted all things into fortresses and places for defence. Towards the eleventh century, at Nîmes, in France, a company styled of the 'Arenes' seized for their habitation the Roman amphitheatre; the Arenes still exist to this day. It was easy to fortify places fortresses in themselves already. This is not an isolated fact; most of the ancient circuses, that at Arles included, were used similarly and occupied as if they had been castles for some time. Monasteries and churches were equally fortified. They were garnished with towers, ramparts, and fosses, and sedulously guarded; they sustained long sieges. Burghers did as did the nobles. Their villis and bourgs were fortified; children were stationed as sentinels in the bell towers of churches to scan what was passing in the distance, and to announce the approach of an enemy. Alas! sometimes he was in the vill itself, in a neighbouring street."

Appendix F, p. 6, middle of p. 8, par. 1.

We know Ralph de Toeni the hereditary standard bearer did not bear the standard at Hastings. Ordericus tells us that Turstin son of Rollo did. ("Hist.," B. III., ch. 14.) In the "Roman de Rou," Vol. II., p. 195, we learn why. A life of the historian is prefixed to Mr. Prévot's edition of Orderic's chief work; as this has been often cited in the preceding pages, his claim to speak with authority should be made clearer.

"It fell to my lot," says Vitalis, "a stranger and an Englishman, coming here" (to the Abbey of St. Evroult in Normandy) "when only ten years old, from the furthest borders of Mercia, and rude of speech and manners, in the midst of a people full of intelligence, to compose, by God's help, a narrative of Norman events and transactions for the use of Normans."

Vitalis had made journeys to Worcester and Croyland; at the latter place he wrote at the request of the Monks a Latin epitaph on Earl Waltheof. Another motive may have incited him to this, for a benefactor of his Abbey, R. de Toeni, had married the daughter of Waltheof. Vitalis' biography furnishes us with the following dates: He was born the 15th or 16th February, 1075, at Attingham (Atcham) on the Severn. He received his name from his sponsor, a noble Saxon priest named Siward, who also baptized him.

1080 æt. 5, was sent to school at Shrewsbury, where, under the same Siward, he learnt reading, grammar, and church chants.

1085 æt. 10, his father sent him to St. Evroult Abbey in Normandy; he never afterwards saw his father.

1086 received the tonsure on St. Vitalis' day, and assumed the saint's name.

1091 at the Abbot's request, he was received as sub-deacon; and

1093 received as deacon.

1107 æt. 32, he was ordained priest with 120 others.

1141 or 1142 he died.

He had as fellow inmate for many years at St. Evroult, Goisbert, favourite physician of Roger de Toeni. By Goisbert's intervention the Abbey of St. Evroult obtained from Ralph de Conches two estates in England.

Appendices G and X, p. 9, par. 2 ; p. 12, par. 5 ; p. 27, par. 1.

Compare the Patent of H. VIII., *supra*, App. E.

Appendix G, p. 9, par. 3.

It is true that there is ground to assign different ancient sites to castles within the town both of Saxon and of Norman origin.

To which does the "vetus" castellum of the Ronton Cartulary ("Staffordshire Coll.," Vol. IV., pt. 1, p. 291) apply ? It tells us that in the reign of Ed. II. Johu son of Geoffrey the Sellarer of Stafford held a house in a street there, then and now called Mill Street. He charged it (*inter alia*) with the annual payment of 2s. to the Convent of Ronton. The house he described not merely by the name of the street, but by a double vicinity, for it was adjacent to the house of Philip the Chaplain, and near to the lane (venella) that led to the old castle, "vetus castellum." This cannot mean the castle on the hill a mile off, for the inquisitions *p.m.* ignore its then existence, but from the context it would be in the town itself, for the "venella" or lane there led to it. This *vetus castellum* may have been at the Castle Hill, and therefore the ancient Saxon fortress, the memory of which is spoken to by Sir Simon Degge (*supra*, p. 136), or it suggests the Norman structure supposed to be more to the north, where was afterwards the gaol. Mill Street, near to where stood the two houses above mentioned as the Sellarer's and the Chaplain's, is now crossed by a new road leading to the railway station, which cuts off from Mill Street a bifurcation of old lines of communication now known severally as Cherry Street and Earl Street. The former as well as Mill Street is a somewhat winding way, leading to the Castle Hill at the foot of Broad Eye, whereas Earl Street (which could not have been so denominated until the first creation of an Earl *tempore* E. III.) joins at right angles another winding lane, now called Queen Street, which on the left hand leads to Castle Hill just mentioned, though by a somewhat more circuitous route than Cherry Street, whilst on the left it leads to the alleged site of the old gaol and gaol gate. The "vetus castellum" is alluded to again by one who appears to have been conversant both with manor and borough, *i.e.*, Mr. Worswick (*supra*, p. 121). He mentions the Bearecroft in villa Castri, leading from the castle of *Stafford towne* to Billington, but the text does not show to what date this refers.

Appendix H, p. 35, par. 3.

Walter Chetwynd was closely connected with the Bagots (his mother was a Bagot) ; it appears from his Collections, now belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that he was in the habit of conversing or corresponding with

Bagot upon questions of their family antiquities. The five volumes of the Chetwynd's "Staffordshire Collections," reduced to their present order by William Hamper, contain several papers pursuing the story of the Bagots of Hyde. These different papers are substantially the same. But the subsequent account in the history of Pirehill Hundred by Walter Chetwynd is clearer than the previous accounts above alluded to. As this history of Pirehill Hundred is to appear in its entirety under the editorship of the Rev. F. P. Parker, as an issue of the W. Salt Archæological Society, I refrain from inserting here the account there given of the Bagots of Hyde.

Appendix I, p. 41, par. 2.

The description referred to in p. 41 is in a Petition of Henry Lord Stafford to King E. VI., praying for certain specified grants. It was not merely signed, but has his Lordship's seal attached. Mr. Gough had obtained a copy (see Gough MS. in the Bodleian). As it has never been printed, only the gross value, £44 8s. 2d., appearing in the Charities Report of the county of Stafford, 1839, at p. 823, it is given below from a transcript in the Salt Library:—

EXTRACT FROM "MINISTERS ACCOUNTS," 2 ED. VI.

Comit. Stafford. Parcell. possessionum nuper Collegii sive Eccles. Collegiat. Stafford. in Comit prædict. modo dissolut.

	£	s.	d.
Domo Mansionis Decani Collegii prædicti. et gardin. adjacent in tenura Robert Cotterell ad volunt.	0	13	4
Duabus pasturis vocat. the Dean's Fields infra Paroch. vocat. Castle Paroch. infra vill. Stafford modo in tenurâ Will. Staumford Gener. ad volunt.	2	13	4
Uno prato in paroch. prædict vocat. the Dean's Meadow, modo in tenurâ Edm. Mills et Francis Dorington	2	3	4
Decimis fœni, granorum, lanæ, agnorum et porcellorum, ac aliis decimis minutis de Forbridge in Paroch. prædict.			
Decimis granorum fœni, lanæ, agnorum et porcellorum et aliis decimis minutis Vill. de Burton et Rickerscoat et decimis granorum fœni et Herbagii camporum vocat. <i>Hide Fields</i> in parochia prædicta modo occupat. per Will. Staumford gener. ad voluntat: in toto	11	6	8
Decimis granorum fœni et omnis mod. aliis decimis cujusdam Firmæ vocat. the Lees in paroch: prædict. modo occupat. per Johan Backhouse ad val.	0	6	8
Decimis granorum fœni et herbag. camporum vocat. the Cross-fields in paroch. prædict. modo occupat per Will. Staumford Generos: ad volunt	1	0	0
Decimis granorum fœni et herbag. diversar terrarum. prat. et pastur. Thomas Salte in paroch. prædict. modo existen in tenurâ ejusdem Thomæ. ad volunt	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Decimis granorum et fœni divers. terrar. prati et Pastur. Will. Collyns in paroch. prædict. modo occupat. per eundem Will. ad voluntat.	0	16	0
Decimis Herbage Parci Stafford prope Stafford in paroch. prædict. modo in tenurâ Henrici Domini Stafford ad volunt.	0	13	4
Decimis molendinor. aquaticorum de Stafford in paroch. prædict. in tenura Will. Shaw Molendinar. ibid. ad voluntatem	0	13	4
Uno cioso (clauso) sive crofto vocat le Dean's Croft ibid. et cœmiterio Eccles. paroch. de Castle prædict. modo in tenura Johni Frenchman ad volunt.	0	8	0
Decimis granorum fœni et Herbag. certarum terr. in tenura Will. Staumford generos. in paroch. prædict. vocat Rowley modo occupat. per eund. Will. advolunt.	0	13	4
Unam parcella terræ arabilis in Hopton in parochiâ Beatæ Mariæ Stafford in tenurâ Johan Walker ad voluntatem	0	6	8
Decimis fœni et granor. de Hopton prædict. in com. prædict. modo in tenurâ Will. Staumford ad volunt.	7	13	4
Decimis lanæ, agnorum, porcellar. et aliis decimis minut. de Hopton prædict. modo in tenurâ ejusd. Will. Staumford ad volunt.	1	0	0
Decimis omnimodis Vill. de Tillington in paroch. Beatæ Mariæ de Stafford in com. prædict. modo in tenurâ Rich. Ward ad volunt.	5	13	4
Possessiones Decanat. Collegii sive Eccles. Collegiat. prædict. valent per annum in (toto)	44	8	0

This enumeration not only preserves the then names of certain fields and their owners or occupiers, but gives the first use of the expression "Castle Parish" which I have met with.

Three of the places are not in Castle Church. The account concludes with private tithes and free Easter offerings of Castle Church aforesaid, which amounted on an average to £1 6s. 8d.

Lord Stafford does not seem to have intended to confound the tithes of fields called "High Fields" with those of Fields styled Hide; the latter are at present enumerated as belonging to Coppenhall in its Tithe Reference book, whereas those of Hide or High Fields, nearer Rowley than Hide, are in Castle Church Parish.

P. 100, note.

EXTRACT FROM DEPOSITIONS.

Proof of the age of Edmund, son of Nicholas Baron de Stafford, deceased, 22 E. I., m. 152, Salt MS., p. 285.

The heir was born and baptized at Maddelye (*sic*) in the county of Stafford. There was no opposition on the parts of the guardians who had been duly summoned. The first witness was Nicholas, Prior of St. Thomas near Stafford, who says that the said Edmund was born at Madeleye in the co. of Stafford on the day of St. Edith the Virgin, viz., on the 25th of July

in the first year of the reign of the now king Edward, and he says that he knows the fact from these circumstances, when he heard the rumour of the birth of the same Edmund, he saw him, and the said Edmund was baptized in the Church of Madeley.

William de Elmedon, Chaplain and Rector of the Church of Weston, sworn and diligently examined as to the age of the aforesaid Edmund, confirms what the Prior says of the day and place of birth, and knows it from this circumstance, that a certain Lord (Dominus) Richard de Stretton, Knight, took to wife Roesia the sister of the said Nicholas, Baron de Stafford, the aunt of the aforesaid Edmund, and on the feast of St. Edith the Virgin next before the birth of the said Edmund, she the said Roesia was brought to bed of a daughter called Johanna, who was 22 years of age on the feast of St. Edith last past, and he likewise remembers that the said Edmund was born on the feast of St. Edith the Virgin next after the Eyre of the Lord Ralph de Hengham and his fellow justices in the co. of Stafford immediately before the death of the Lord King Henry father of the present King.

Roger de Pyweldesdon, Knight, confirms what the Prior had said, adding that Nicholas father of the said Edmund had despatched letters to him the said Roger, praying him to come to Madeley to bear the said Edmund to the font; and though he went thither speedily, he found that the said boy had been already baptized.

Henry de Cressewell, Knight, confirms the testimony of the last witness; he knows the birth took place on the day of St. Edith next before the Eyre aforesaid.

Hugh de Weston, Knight, agrees to what the Prior had said as to day and place, adding that immediately after the birth, the father, Nicholas, had come to the house of the said Hugh's father at Weston, and informed him that he had just got a son.

William Trumwyne, Knight, and Robert de Pype, Knight, agree to what Hugh de Weston had said, and the cause of his knowledge.

William de Stafford, Knight, also agrees, and adds that he was at Madeley on the morrow of the birth of Edmund, and saw him before he was baptized.

William de Wrottesley agrees to what Hugh de Weston had said of day and place, and adds that certain servants of the said Baron of Stafford were journeying on the morrow of the birth of the aforesaid Edmund from Madeley to Weston, and they came to the house of Hugh de Wrottesley, the father of the aforesaid William, and there related the birth of the said Edmund.

Robert le Marshall agrees also with Hugh de Weston, and says that he remembers Gilbert le Marshall his father dying sixteen years since on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, and that he then said that the aforesaid Edmund was four years old on the feast of St. Edith the Virgin next before the death of his said father Gilbert and he said that the said Gilbert his father was very familiar with the said Nicholas.

Hugh de Chauldon agrees with what William Stafford had said, and adds that he was himself at Madeley when the said Edmund was baptized.

Robert Gerveys, on the other hand, agrees to what Hugh de Weston had said, and knows it from the circumstance that on the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next before the birth of the aforesaid Edmund, he the

said Robert by his writing demised to one William de Aspilyt a certain meadow in Powemor (? Podmore) for the term of twenty-one years ; and he says that at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist then last past, the said term expired, and the aforesaid William then returned to the said Robert his aforesaid writing. *See Addenda.*

P. 1, par. 3 ; p. 11, par. 5.

Bethenei was an ancient name for Stafford ; *s.* Plot, "Natural History of Staffordshire," ch. x, s. 28 ; Camden, "Britannia," ed. Gough, pp. 426, 510 ; *s.* the name in Mapes de Nugis Curialium *Distinctio secunda*, ch. xxii, ed. Camd. Soc.

Sir Simon Degge's note to Plot's "Staffordshire" as to the etymology of the place name, Stafford, seems after all the best that has been given. For an Anglo-Saxon host of immigrants coming this way through the Elbe, would have passed on its left bank in the territory of a kindred race a station bearing the very name *Stade*. It is opposite to Altona, and still retains this appellation. It has no ford ; the Elbe flows deep, broad, and rapid by it. The adventurers settling, we suppose, by the Sow, upon an ancient Celtic fiord or way where the river was readily fordable, following the national usage, united the two meanings and words, and named their new home *Stadeford* or *Stadford*, or *Statford*, and so we find the name written in many ancient documents and generally in Domesday Book. Obeying similar sentiments another body of settlers had affixed the same local appellation to a place still called Stafford in Dorsetshire.

Appendix K, p. 1, par. 1.

"Ea tempestate, A.D. 527, venerunt multi et sæpe de Germania et occupaverunt East Angle et Merce. sed necdum sub uno rege redacti erant. Plures autem proceres certatim regiones occupabant, unde innumerabilia bella fiebant proceres vero, quia multi erant, nomine carent."—Henrici Huntendunensis *Hist. Anglorum*, Liber II.

Appendix K, p. 1, par. 2.

"In Northumbria the first King Ida reigned twelve years, and built Bamborough, which was at first inclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall."—Anglo Saxon Chronicle, ad annum 547.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that Ethelfleda constructed the "Burh" Stafford. This Saxon word *Burh* Bede renders [*Hist. Ecc.* 3 B. 19] by the Latin word *urbs*. "Erat autem monasterium constructum in castro quodam, quod linguâ Anglorum 'Cnobheresburg,' i.e., *urbs Cnobheri* vocatur quod," etc. But in King Alfred's translation of Bede's History we have the passage, "ceastre, that is named in English Gneoferisburgh" (*Ceastre* seo is nemmed on Englice Gneoferisburh).

The early origin of the town of Stafford is also suggested by the ancient custom prevalent there of Borough English alluded to by Erdeswick, ed.

Harwood, p. 144, which the contrivances of modern conveyancing have almost obliterated. So the will of Robert Whitgreave, Esquire, of Burton, dated 1550, to which Robert Harcourt and William Stamford, Esquires, were "supervysors," alludes to that historical custom in the following words: "The resydue of my lands not gyven withyne the seyd tounne and borrow of Stafford aforsayd I will shall remayne to George Whytgreve my youngest son and hys heyres for ever according to the custome there."

Appendix M, p. 43, par. 5; p. 44, par. 1.

See the charters mentioned at pp. 43 and 44 at large in Salt MS. 429.

Appendix N, p. 42, paragraphs 2 and 3.

The property once the Austins Friars which fell to the Stamfords, *supra*, 42, was described in their Inquisitions, seemingly as "Rowley man. cum pertin., Stafford le Fryez Orshyard, le Freyers feild et prat. adjacent et scitum precinct nuper domus fratz Augustin de Stafford cum tot cæmeterio ib: continuo de rege in capite pro 100 pt. f. m." (See *Inq. p.m.* Stamford Rob., ob. 4 Jac.) See Addenda.

Appendix O, p. 20, par. 4; p. 38, par. 1.

Extracts from the Subsidy Rolls of 6 E. III., etc., were to have been here inserted, but are suppressed owing to their being printed in the "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. VIII., Pt. 1; and see *supra*, p. 24.

Appendix P, p. 44. Stafford Rent Rolls. See Appendix U, p. 8.

Appendix R

Ordericus Vitalis shows us that William the Conqueror was once, perhaps twice, in the county at the head of a victorious army. The Burton Register has preserved a similar fact with respect to Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II. King John was in the county several times, and King Henry III. also, as appears from the testes of their Patents; and Edward was here as Prince, and borrowed money in Stafford.

The learned editor of the "*Gesta Henrici II.*" has added in his Appendix an outline itinerary of this monarch, from which it appears that the monarch was in the vicinity of Staffordshire, and probably in it, in the summer of the year 1155; and in July, 1157, he was at Tamworth; then the next possibilities of his having visited the county are in 1164, when he held a great council at Northampton of all the tenants *in capite*, and in the spring of 1165, when there was an expedition to Wales, and he was at Chester. His last visit was in 1175, when he was in July at Lichfield.

Appendix U, p. 81, par. 5.

MEMORANDUM BY WILLIAM HAMPER TO THE INDENTURE BETWEEN RALPH DE STAFFORD AND THE MASON FOR BUILDING STAFFORD CASTLE. (See *supra*, p. 81.)

"The agreement, it is true, is in the French of that period, but the mason himself (John de Burcestre) was no doubt an Englishman, deriving his name from Burcestre, now Bicester, a town in Oxfordshire."—William Hamper.

EXTRACT FROM THE GREAT CARTULARY AT BLITHFIELD, FOLIO 236 (BUT WHICH SEEMS NOT QUITE IN EXACT FORM).

Dominium de Stafford cum membris	Stafford Manerium	Valor ejusdem anno 35 H. VIII. Et valet de claro xxxiiij.li. xiiij.d.
firma Manerii in omnibus, pratis pasturis per . . .	Holdyche	valet in omnibus lxxvj.s. iiij.d.
Rents of Assize, Frithfee, Firm of Mills, Wakefee, Tenements in manu domini, Redd. Moert (?), Lychfield	Stafford Rents, Redd. resol. iiij.xx. xvij.li. xvij.d.	et valet de claro lxxx.li. xiiij.s. iiij.d. ob.
FFORBRIGGE.		
Valet in finibus, sect, et per annum lx.li. iiij.s.	Stipendia, lxiiij.s.	Et valet de claro xxxj.s. Et valet de claro xxxj.s.
Burton-on-the-Mores (<i>sic</i> Norton ?), xvij.li. vij.s. vij.d. Bylington, xxij.li.		

The opinion of Sir Orlando Bridgeman, 2nd September, 1672, embodies interesting facts as to the general condition of the estates and of the restored lands, although the King's Pool is the principal subject. The opinion is amongst the Stafford MSS. at the Castle, *supra*, p. 23. It tells us as follows.

"The Lord Stafford's ancestors *temp.* E. III. were seised of the Castle and rents of Stafford.

Afterwards, 24 E. III., the King grants King's Pool and the mill now built to Raph Stafford, one of the ancestors, and 2 markes rent, which poole lyes within the precincts of the towne or Borough of Stafford.

The Earles of Stafford after purchase several more lands and rents in the towns of Stafford, Bradley, Lichfield, Fazeley, and several other towns in the county of Stafford, from severall persons, all which with the King's Pool went under the name of Stafford Manor and Stafford Rents, and were severed from the Manor of Stafford; and in the Ministers' accounts of the Earles of Stafford went under a distinct head, there being one distinct title for the Manor of Stafford, another for Stafford Rents, and under the head of Stafford went the King's Pool, and those after lands purchased from others in Stafford, Lichfield, and several other places were accounted for; and thus it continued for many

years before and at the time of the attainder of Ed. Stafford Duke of Buckingham, 13 H. VIII., by which all came to the Crown.

15 Julii, 23 H. VIII. The King grants to Henry Lord Stafford and Ursula his wife, and the heirs of their bodies, "Castrum et manerium de Stafford cum pertinentibus in com. Stafford necnon Manor vocat Stafford Manerium et Stafford Redditus in dicto Com. ac omnia, terras tenementa prata pascua pasturas et servitia in villa & burgo de Stafford necnon omnia et omnis modi Boscos stagna, aquas, piscarias, molendina, vivaria, etc., et Commoditates quascunque dictis Castro Manerio ac ceteris præmissis et eorum alteri pertinentibus sive spectantibus, ac advocationem Capellæ St. Nicholai infra parcum de Stafford. And further grants other lands to them, quæ quidem castrum, etc., Manor & Stafford Reddit. ac dicta Maneria de Essington, etc., fuere Edwi nuper Ducis Buck.

Sir Orlando Bridgeman further remarks as to Edward Lord Stafford (*temp.* 2 Jac. I.), that he was a known wasteful man."

SUNDRY MEMORANDA AS TO TITHES.¹

The tithes from Stafford Great Park and Stafford Little Park and Broomfield near the Castle belonged to the Deanery of Stafford.

Whereas to the free Chapel of St. Nicholas belonged all the tithes, prædial, personal, etc., obventions, collections, alms, fees, etc., from land lying and being within the said chapel (*i.e.*, chapelry); and also all tithes, etc., issuing out of or charged upon all the inhabitants within the said Castle; also out of lands called Castle Street and Castle fields.

On the 21st January, 15 James (1617), a lease for seventy years of the tithes of St. Nicholas was granted to Thomas Forster, late of Tonge, Norton, co. Salop, Gent., and to Tho. Coxill and Sir Thomas Peshall, of Horsley, and others.

A partition is there mentioned between Lord Stafford and Wm. Crompton, Esq., as also that one-ninth part of the Deanery was assigned to Lord Stafford.

Appendix U, p. 85, note; p. 92, par. 1.

REMARKS COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. EDWARD ALLEN, VICAR OF CASTLE CHURCH, 1ST DECEMBER, 1886.

Note to p. 85. I make out with certainty, though very pale, the following heading of the oldest Register Book: "The Regyster book of the pys[h] (parish) of our Lady called the Castell church under the Castell of Stafford beyone by me, John Cockes, curate there for the yeare of our Lord God 1567."

In note 1, p. 86, after Silkmores may be added, and part of Littleworth [which, though beyond Stafford, was part of the old entire parish of Castle Church, and still is of St. Paul's].

¹ What follows I noted down some years ago, and I think from the "Stafford Collections," *supra*, p. 23, but I am not certain, and cannot verify.

P. 88, *et seq.* This shield was certainly not touched in the restoration by Sir G. G. Scott. The church had, before it was restored by Scott, a Norman chancel arch. The style may be said to have ceased as a pure style not long after A.D. 1160, the beginning of the "transitional" period.

P. 91, *Names.* Chamber $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-lain} \\ \text{-lin} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{-lane} \end{array} \right\}$, *alias* Backhouse, was the founder of

two small charities, and Gouldsmith of another charity; Thorley of one now lost. Dickenson¹ was Rector of Stafford before Mr. Coldwell. He held all the churches, viz., St. Mary's, St. Chad's, and Castle Church. At his death St. Chad's and Castle Church were held together by Mr. Anlezark, who died 1845, after which these churches were held separately.

Appendix U, pp. 91-2.

CENSUS.

									Acreage.
1861.	Castlechurch Proper (as we now call the portion left to the Mother Church)...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	831
	Forebridge (viz., all the rest)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,531
	Total	..	..						3,362

Inhabited houses, 150 and 519 respectively; total, 669.

						Houses.	Population.
1871.	St. Thomas's, Castletown..	..	..	..	..	254	1,274
	St. Paul's ..	..	..	..	..	590	2,710
	Castlechurch Proper	..	..	..	..	148	762
						992	4,746
1881.	Castlechurch Proper	..	..	..	..	210	1,149

I have no record of the other divisions of the parish.

Appendix T, p. 94, par. 3.

In an account of the possessions of the Templars in the Monasticon, Vol. I., p. 533, we find "In Burtune Siford (? Seighford or Seford) and Lamberd (? Lambercotes), pro iii. bovatis, de donacione Mauricii de Crun, 1 marc & viii. gallinas et viii. days of work." Words importing that at the three places, whether near Stafford or elsewhere, as many bovates had been granted to the Knights Templars by Maurice de Croun. I do not know whence Loxdale found ground for asserting that this benefaction applies to Burton and Seighford near Stafford. At so remote a date no wonder Loxdale, Salt MS., O. 41, was at a loss to say where Croun's bovates at Seighford were. An equal difficulty attends the two other place names. Amongst Sir Thomas Whitgreave's Deeds, *apud* Chetwynd "Staffordshire Collections," Vol. II., p. 131, is a document referring to the matter, and in the Erdeswick MS., *see* Salt MS., 153, Bassano's addenda, p. 20, *verso*, I have found that a Maurice Creon is a donor of land as next mentioned.

¹ The Rev. Edward Dickenson his brother was also in Orders.

“Moricus de Creon, omnibus hominibus suis francis et Anglicis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Thomæ fil. Willmi in feodum & hereditatem totam terram quam pater suus Willmus tenuit de patre meo, et de me scilicet in Satebria et in Thoreston pro servicio unius militis. Teste Guido filio meo, Clarice uxore mea, Radulf de Creon, Willmo de Bellind, Lamberto de Muleton, Bodino de Femur.” But for the earlier address, “hominibus, &c.,” I should attribute it to the reign of Edward I., for in the *Monast.*, p. 922, we find a Mauricius de Croun assisting at the foundation of Vale Royal in Cheshire by Edward, with many nobles of the highest rank. It is true that the ancient record from which Dugdale quotes is dated 1185, but even early records sometimes, like that styled the *Testa de Nevil*, under one title often continue lists without showing change of date. We know, however, that in the 13th century the very ancient name Cruon or Cron appears in *Salop* (see *Eyton’s “Hist.”* p. 67, and 288, note 4), and as at p. 67 there the name is seen in a fine, A.D. 1293, as that of the owner of Burghton (Burton), who with his wife Margaret gives sixty acres to the Vicar of Chirbury, receiving therefor £20, it is not impossible that the Crons held the Manor of Burton near Stafford under the Staffords.

In the *Chetw. MSS.*, Vol. II., p. 131, amongst Sir Tho. Whitgreave’s Deeds, we find the two following further abstracts: “Omnibus &c. Agatha, fil. Rob. de Ricardescote-sal. &c. noveritis me concessisse &c. Rob. le Paumer de Borton, illud mess. &c. qd. tenui(t ?) prædict. Rob. le Paumer.” “Universis &c. Frater Willus de Tothall Prior, scē domus Hospital scī Johis Jerlm̄ in Anglia salut. noveritis me assensu & voluntate fratrum totius capituli mei concessisse & confirmasse, etc. Rico le Palmer de Burton & hominibus suis suas terras & quæ de nobis tenet in villa de Burton Reddendo & faciendo nobis & successoribus n̄s servicia inde debita & consueta. Anno Dom. m.ccc°. Wido the crusader, son of Maurice, and third in descent from the Wido of Domesday Book (see Dugdale, *Baronage*, Vol. I., p. 412), may have taken his name from the place Creton in Lincolnshire, and afterwards holding by knight service Burton in Staffordshire from Robert de Stafford, might call this Burton, Burton Creon, Croun, or Creton, and so leave the service of money and labour mentioned in the *Templars’ terrier* to them as issuing from his *caput Baronie* in Lincolnshire.

It lends some force to this contention that the *terrier* couples the Burton out of which the service issued with two other words that seem to correspond with places not distant from Burton near Stafford. But on the other side is the fact that in the Lincolnshire Domesday, p. 367, *verso*, an estate at Burton in that county is ascribed to the first Wido, so that the doubt I expressed *supra* at page 94 is abundantly justified.

Appendix X, see G, p. 9.

Appendix Y, pp. 49, par. 2, and 110, par. 2.

In the Printed Rolls of Parliament, Vol. VI., pp. 325–6, the petition is given of Robert Willoughby, Knight, Elizabeth late wyfe of Johnis Colshull, Knt., and Alienora late wyfe of Thomas Strangwyshe, Squier, Cosyns and heires

of Humfrey Stafford, Knt., late called Lord Southwyk, otherwise called Earl of Devonshire. The petition claimed many manors of which the said Earl had been seised, amongst others those of Penkerych, Pyrton, Lytewode, Hydecopenhale, and Amblecote ; these had been settled in *tale male*, but forcibly disturbed by Humfry Stafford, late of Grafton, Squier, supported by his favour, as the petition says, with Richard, late "in deed and not in right," King of England. The prayer of the petitioners was accorded, and themselves put in possession of the aforesaid manors.

Bromshall is not mentioned in the petition above mentioned, but it became the subject of a litigation a few years afterwards. The Erdeswicks having inherited the right of the sole heiress of Sir James Stafford, of Sandon, had held not Sandon only, but Bromshall, from the time when Sir James had died. But it would seem that although Sandon was theirs by express settlement, Bromshall had been settled in *tail male*, and so his brother Sir John Stafford and his heirs male were to be preferred to the heiress who had married Erdeswick, and so the Erdeswicks were at last ousted by Willoughby de Broke, whose representatives still own it. (General Report of the Commissioner of Public Records, Appendix, p. 58, 1837, referring to a special assize, anno 5 H. VIII., between Henry Willoughby de Broke and others, plaintiffs, and Hugh Erdeswick, disseisor ; and see Sampson Erdeswick's commentary upon that litigation in the "Antiquities of Staffordshire," ed. Harwood, p. 512, and the pedigree adduced by him in that first Salt MS. (once Mr. Hamper's).)

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